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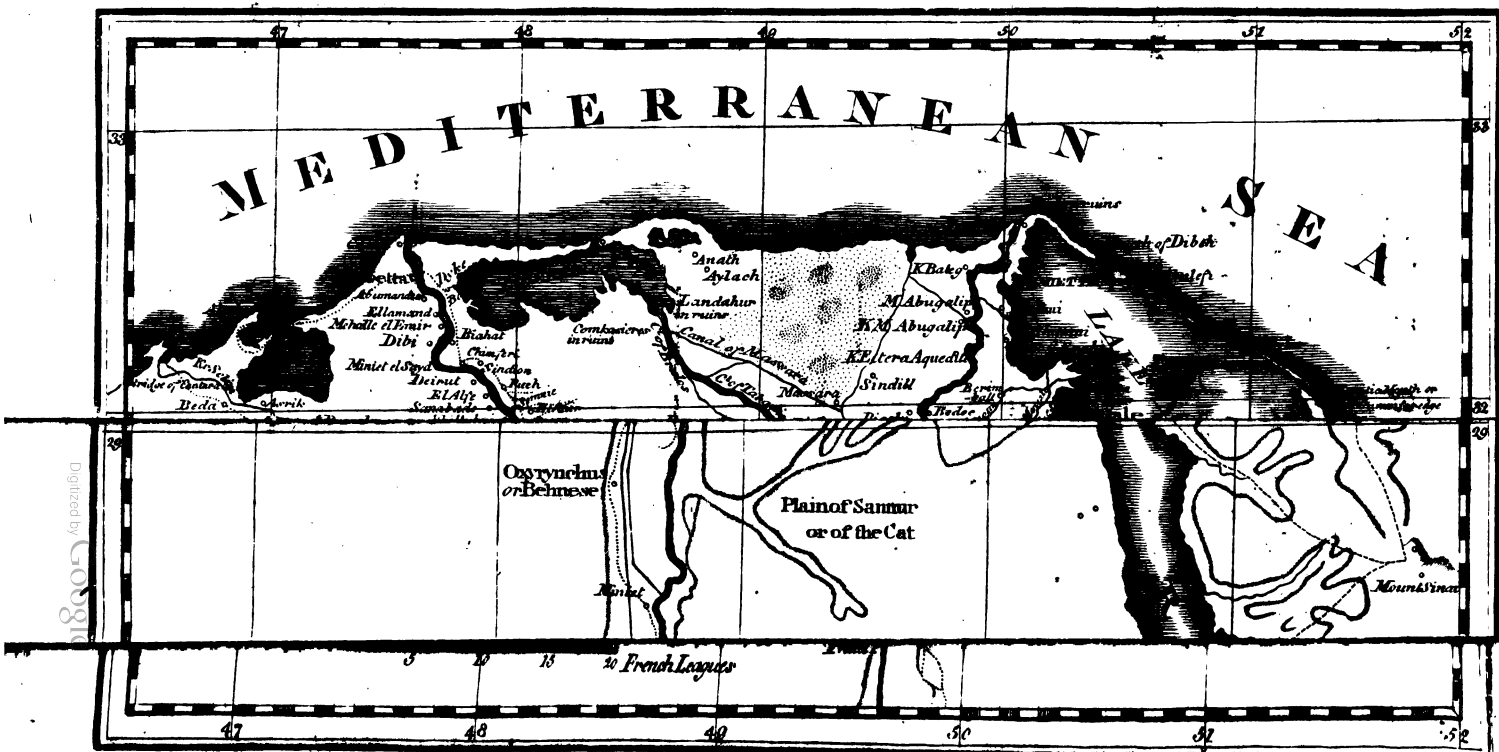

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TRAVELS

Saw. Lewis

IN

UPPER AND LOWER

EGYPT,

DURING THE CAMPAIGNS OF GENERAL BONAPARTE

IN THAT COUNTRY;

AND PUBLISHED UNDER HIS IMMEDIATE PATRONAGE.

BY VIVANT DENON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF

THE INVASION OF EGYPT BY THE FRENCH.

BY ARTHUR AIKIN.

Embellished with numerous Engravings.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY HEARD AND FORMAN,

For Samuel Campbell, No. 124, Pearl-Street, New-York; M. Carey, P. Byrne, J. Conrad and Co. and S. F. Bradford, Philadelphia; Bonsal and Niles, Baltimore; Thomas and Andrews, E. Larkin and Co. West and Greenleaf, and John West, Boston.

1803.

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BY THE TRANSLATOR.

IT is presumed that an account, by an eye-witness, of the romantic, but unprovoked invasion of Egypt, by General Bonaparte, will not be uninteresting to the public. The Author, a member of the Institute of Cairo, and an excellent draftsman, was selected to accompany the troops designed for the conquest of upper Egypt, that, under the protection of a military escort, he might have an opportunity of examining those stupendous remains, and eternal documents of the ancient civilization of the country, to which its then unsettled state had denied a peaceable admission. Hence the work contains an agreeable mixture of incident and description: and if the journal of the desultory operations of a campaign against an enemy, whose rapid motions, whose invincible courage, whose persevering bravery always rendered him a formidable opponent, interrupts unseasonably now and then an account of the

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venerable monuments of Thebes or Tentyra; yet this very interruption becomes a stimulus to curiosity, and the attention of the reader, though kept up active to the last, will not be withdrawn ungratified. Citizen Denon, not being a soldier by profession, and therefore not hardened to the atrocities of war, has, notwithstanding his natural partiality towards his countrymen, and his personal regard for many of the Chiefs in the expedition, given a fairer account of the treatment which the natives underwent from their invaders, than we are likely to receive from any other quarter: and, indeed, of the campaigns in upper Egypt, he is as yet the only historian: in this view, therefore, his narrative is of peculiar value. We see what a dreadful licence of lust, rapine, and slaughter, the French troops were allowed to indulge in, and how whole villages were exterminated upon the bare suspicion of meditating resistance to the ravishers of their women, the desolators of their fields, the incendiaries of their houses. We see that so far from conciliating the esteem of the Egyptians, the French dominion was confined to the range of their cannon, that their stragglers were cut off like proscribed beasts of prey; and, pressed by the Arabs on one side, and Murad-Bey on the other, they were kept in a constant state of watchfulness and alarm. The military transactions, however, are neither the most pleasing, nor the prominent feature of the work: the Author was by necessity a soldier, but by profession an artist, and a man of letters; hence the remains of the architecture, the sculpture, and the painting of the ancient Egyp-

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tians, were the principal objects of his attention; and these he has described both by words and the pencil, so as to render them highly interesting to all those who feel any curiosity about a nation, from whom ancient Greece derived her sublimest philosophy, and which is inseparably connected with the earlier ages of the Jewish history.

With regard to the present English edition, a few words remain to be said. The narrative in the original is one continued journal, without division of chapters, from the embarkation of the Author at Toulon to his landing again in France at Frejus; to this are added several notes, more particularly illustrative of the plates, and mentioning little traits of manners and customs, which the Author, either from inadvertence, or want of opportunity, neglected to introduce into the text. The Translator, however, has taken the liberty of breaking the journal into separate chapters, without, however, in the least degree altering the order of its arrangement; and, in a few instances, of incorporating with the text such parts of the notes as appear to have been thrown to the end of the original work, merely in consequence of having been forgotten.

In order to make the present edition come at a moderate price, (the French original of which sells in London for twenty-one guineas), it has been found necessary to leave out the greater part of the plates: several, however, have been selected, and retained either for the beauty or grandeur of the objects they represent, or as serving to illustrate the manners, dress, and mode of warfare of the Egyptians and Mamelukes.

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Those left out are principally hieroglyphical, or architectural, and would be interesting only to the antiquarian or artist. It will always be easy for such to procure the English edition, and the present coming at nearly one third of its price, will be found to suit best with the generality of readers.

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Preface.

When an Author has decided on writing a preface, his principal aim is to give an idea of the nature of his work. This task, which becomes in a manner an obligation, I shall fulfil by inserting here the discourse it was my intention to read to the Institute of Cairo, on my return from upper Egypt.

"You have acquainted me, citizens, that the Institute expected from me an account of my travels in upper Egypt, for which purpose I was, in the course of different sittings, to read extracts from the journal intended to accompany the drawings I have brought from thence. My desire to meet the wishes of the Institute will stimulate me to digest, without loss of time, a multitude of notes which I have made, without any other pretension than that of forgetting no part of what offered itself daily to my observation. I was engaged in travelling through a country which was known to Europe by name only: it therefore became important to describe every thing; and I was fully aware, that at my return I should be interrogated on all sides, relative

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to what might, according to his habitual studies or his character, the most powerfully excite the curiosity of each of my enquirers. I have made drawings of objects of every description; and if I am here fearful of fatiguing those to whom I display my numerous productions, seeing that they merely re-trace what they have before their eyes, I shall, perhaps, on my reaching France, have to reproach myself for not having multiplied them still more, or, to speak more correctly, shall lament that the circumstances in which I was placed, did not allow me either the time or the conveniencies to do so. If my zeal has called forth all the means of which I am possessed, these means have been powerfully seconded by the commander in chief, whose grand conceptions suffer none of the details to escape him. Being aware that the aim of my travels was to visit the monuments of upper Egypt, he sent me with the division which was to achieve the conquest of that territory. In General Desaix I found an inquisitive philosopher, a friend of the arts, from whom I received all the attentions which the circumstances would allow. From General Beliard I experienced friendship, and unwearied assiduities; from the officers politeness; and the utmost civility from all the soldiers of the twenty-first half-brigade. In short, I made so truly a part of the battalion it formed, and within which I had in a manner taken up my abode, that I was frequently in the heat of action without recollecting myself, and without reflecting that war was foreign to my avocations.

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"As our troops were engaged in the pursuit of an enemy constantly mounted, the movements of the division were invariably both unforeseen and multiplied. I was therefore sometimes obliged to pass rapidly over the most interesting monuments; and at other times to stop where there was nothing to observe. If, however, I have felt the fatigue of unproductive marches, I have also experienced that it is often advantageous to take a summary view of important objects previously to an entry into their details; that, if at first sight they dazzle by their number, they afterwards become classed in the mind by reflection; and that, if it be necessary studiously to preserve the first impressions, it is only during the absence of the object which has given rise to them, that these impressions can be carefully examined and analyzed. It has also struck me, that an artist who undertakes to travel, should, before he sets out, divest himself of all professional prejudices; and that he ought not to consider what may or what may not make a fine drawing, but the general interest which the aspect of the spot he purposes to draw may inspire. I have already, citizens, been recompensed for having divested myself of these prejudices, by the flattering curiosity you have displayed, and by the avidity with which you have examined the immense number of drawings I have brought with me: drawings which I made most frequently on my knee, or standing, or even on horseback. I have never been able to finish any one of them as I could have wished, for this rea-

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son, that during the space of a whole year I could never find a table sufficiently straight and even, to be able to lay a ruler on it.

"It has therefore been with a view to reply to your questions, that I have made this multitude of drawings, frequently too small, because our marches were too precipitate to enable me to seize the details of the objects, the aspect and *ensemble* at least of which I was determined to bring away with me. It is in this way that I have taken in the mass the pyramids of Ssakharah, the site of which I crossed on a gallop, in my way to fix myself for a month in the mud houses of Bnisuef. This interval of time was spent in comparing the characters, and in drawing the persons and dresses of the different nations which now inhabit Egypt, together with their buildings, and the positions of their villages.

"I saw at length the portico of Hermopolis, the huge masses of the ruins of which gave me the earliest idea of the splendour of the colossal architecture of the Egyptians. On each of the blocks of which this edifice was composed, I fancied I saw engraved the words *posterity, eternity.*

"Shortly after, Denderah (Tentyris) taught me that it was not in the doric, ionic, and corinthian orders alone, that the beauties of architecture were to be sought: wherever a harmony of parts exists, there beauty is to be found. I had approached these edifices in the morning: in the evening I was snatched away from them, more agitated than satisfied. I had seen a hundred things, while a thou-

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sand others had escaped me; and had, for the first time, found access to the archives of the arts and sciences. I had the presentiment that I should meet with nothing finer in Egypt; and, after having made twenty journies to Denderah, I am confirmed in this opinion. The sciences of arts, united by good taste, have decorated the temple of Isis: there astronomy, morals, and metaphysics, assume shape and figure, and these figures and shapes decorate the ceilings, frizes, and bases, with at least as much taste and grace as our slight and insignificant paintings *in fresco* ornament the modern cabinets.

"We continued to advance. I must confess that I trembled a thousand times, lest Mourad-bey, wearied with shunning us, should either surrender, or try the chance of a battle. I was of opinion, that the one which was fought near Samanhut would wind up this great drama: in the midst, however, of the combat, it struck Mourad-bey that the desert would be more fatal to us than his arms. Desaix was thus again deprived of an opportunity of destroying him; while, for my part, I cherished the hope of pursuing him beyond the tropic.

"We marched towards Thebes, the name alone of which fills the imagination with vast recollections. As if this city could escape me, I made a drawing of it the moment it came in view. We passed through it so rapidly, that scarcely was a monument discovered, when it was necessary to abandon it.

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"There a colossal statue presented itself which could be measured by the eye alone, governed by the sensation of surprise which the view of it occasioned. To the right were seen mountains excavated and sculptured; to the left, temples which, viewed at a distance, appeared like so many rocks. Next came palaces, and other temples, which I was obliged to quit precipitately. I returned, to seek mechanically the hundred gates of which Homer poetically speaks, to express by a single word this splendid city, the weight of the porticoes of which oppressed the earth, while the breadth of Egypt scarcely sufficed for its compass and extent. Seven subsequent journies thither have not satisfied the curiosity with which this first visit inspired me. It was not until the fourth that I was enabled to cross to the opposite side of the river.

"Farther on, I should have regarded Hermontis as superb, if that city had not been placed so near to the gates of Thebes. The temple of Esneh, the ancient Latopolis, appeared to me to be the perfection of art among the Egyptians, and one of the finest productions of antiquity. That of Edfù, or Apollinopolis Magna, is one of the largest, best preserved, and most advantageously situated of the monuments of Egypt. In its present state it still appears like a fortress which commands the surrounding country.

"It was there that the destination of my travels was decided on: we set out on our march for Syené (Assuan) under the most positive instructions. In

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this passage through the desert, I felt for the first time in my life the weight of years, on which I had not reckoned when I engaged in the expedition. On this occasion I derived greater support from my spirit than from my strength. At Syené I quitted the army, to remain with the half-brigade which was to keep Mourad-bey in check in the desert. Proud at finding my country in possession of the very boundaries which had once belonged to the Roman empire, I inhabited, with exultation, the quarters which three Roman cohorts had anciently occupied for the defence of these limits. During the twenty-two days which I spent on this celebrated spot, I took possession of whatever was to be found in its vicinity. I extended my conquests as far as Nubia, on the other side of Philoë, that delightful island, where it was necessary to snatch by force from the inhabitants the curiosities with which it abounded; and the temples of which were not opened to me until after five days of siege and six journies I had made thither. Feeling all the importance of making you acquainted with the spot I inhabited, and with all the interesting objects it contained, I have made drawings even of the rocks, of the quarries of granite from whence have been drawn those colossal statues, those obelisks still more than colossal, and those blocks covered with hieroglyphics so celébrated in history. With the form of them I could have wished to bring back with me the specimens which would have interested you the most powerfully. Not being able to make

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a map of the country, I have drawn a bird's-eye view of the entrance of the Nile into Egypt, together with views of that river running over beds of granite, which seem to have marked the boundaries between Ethiopia and a country more fertile and temperate. Quitting for ever the former rude territory, I approached the verdant Elephantis, the garden of the tropic. I sought and measured all the monuments it contains, and quitted with regret that tranquil abode, where the pleasing occupations in which I had been engaged had re-established my health, and given me a new vigour.

"On the right bank of the Nile I visited Ombos, the city of the crocodile, and that of Juno Lucina, Coptos, where I was obliged to protect, from the fanaticism of the Mekkyns, the riches I brought away with me.

"After making some stay at Kéneh, I accompanied the party which had to cross the desert, and to proceed to Kosséir, to check the new emigrations from Arabia. I saw what may be denominated the cupola of the chain of mountains of Mokatham, and the steril banks of the Red Sea. I there learned to revere that patient animal, which nature seems to have placed in those regions to atone for the error she had committed in creating a desert. I now returned to Kéneh, from whence I set out at different intervals to visit Edfù, Esneh, Hermontis, Thebes, and Denderah, neglecting no opportunity to repair to Edfù and to Thebes, whenever a detachment was ordered to either of these places;

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and, indeed, accompanying the detachments wherever they were sent. If a fondness for antiquities has frequently made me a soldier, on the other hand the kindness of the soldiers, in aiding me in my researches, has often made antiquaries of them. In these latter journies I visited the tombs of the kings, to the end that in these secret depositories I might form an idea of the art of painting among the Egyptians, of their utensils, arms, furniture, musical instruments, ceremonies, and triumphs. It was also on these occasions that I assured myself, that the hieroglyphics sculptured on the walls were not the only books of that learned nation. After having discovered on the bass-reliefs the representations of persons in the act of writing, I made the additional discovery of that roll of papyrus, of that unique manuscript which has already engaged your attention. This fragile rival of the pyramids, this invaluable pledge of a preservatory climate, this monument which time has spared, is the most ancient of all books, and boasts the duration of forty centuries.

"I sought, in the course of these latter excursions, to complete by approximations the voluminous collection of hieroglyphical paintings I have formed. In thinking of you, citizens, and of all the literati of Europe, I felt the resolution to copy, with a scrupulous nicety, the minute details of these dry and unmeaning paintings, which could not otherwise interest me than by the aid of your intelligence.

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"Now that I am returned, laden with my productions, the weight of which has been daily augmented, I have forgotten the labour which they cost me, from the persuasion that, being completed under your inspection, and with the help of your counsel, they may hereafter become useful to my country, and be worthy to be presented to you."

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AN

ACCOUNT

OF

THE INVASION OF EGYPT.

DISTINGUISHED as it was by extraordinary enterprize and atchievment, the war which followed the dissolution of monarchy in France, and between the present writing and the termination of which only a few months have passed, produced nothing the history of which will be read with stronger interest than the invasion of Egypt. The movements of hostile armies, by the scene of activity they display, the hopes and fears by which they are attended, and of which they make partakers those most of all indifferent to the issue, seldom fail to engage the attention of the mind, and as seldom to instruct the soldier, the statesman, and the philosopher; but, if these are characteristics of all military expeditions, those which more adequately distinguish this still remain unnoticed. The circumstances under which it was planned, the country to which it was sent, the General by whom it was led, the man-

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ner in which it was performed, the considerations and consequences it involved, all contribute to place it among the most striking events, not of one, two, or three nations only, but of the human world. The book of Travels to which this memoir is prefixed, which sprung from this very expedition, and which details a part of its circumstances, will naturally excite a wish to see the whole; to see at once its motives, its features, its commencement, its operations, its successes, its reverses, its conclusion; and to draw together these particulars, to arrange the scattered members, and to give the subject a form commodious for examination, is what, with the utmost brevity of manner, it is here proposed to attempt.

I. A few words will call to mind that maritime trade with Asia, and countries similarly abundant, which makes so large a consideration in the politics of Europe in general, and an equally few, that with India, making a still larger in those of Britain in particular. It is not necessary, either, to dwell on that aversion of the natives of plentiful countries from the efforts of commerce, by which Europeans, being compelled to court an intercourse which the former would never seek, and to secure, by territorial dominion and consequent monopoly, its security under governments which, at the best, regard its continuance with indifference, have been led to acquire more than mercantile advantages; or on the means or circumstances by which, of all Europeans,

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the British have acquired, in this same India, the empire of widest extent.

Reverting, now, to the rivalry by which, like the little republics of ancient Greece, the clustered nations of northern Europe maintain themselves in perpetual agitation, it is easily seen that this Indian empire must draw upon Britain the animosity of all her neighbours, and particularly of France, pre-eminent in that disposition because the nearest in this character, and because the nearest also in the amount of her prosperity and strength. France, therefore, for a long period of time, has had it for a natural object of her policy (for of every nation to depress others, and, at least relatively, exalt itself, is the natural and indispensible policy) either to deprive Britain of this empire, or to gain for herself another, equivalent if not superior. To accomplish the one, or the other, or both of these, her statesmen turned their eyes, first on those powers whose immediate losses were the component parts of that empire, and who, therefore, though they might want the means of injuring, could not want motives for hating, the nation by which it was held; and next, as a possession to be obtained for herself, on a country that not less, by its natural and commercial advantages, promised positive aggrandizement, than, by its local proximity, and still more, perhaps, by the introduction to oriental powers with which it must furnish its masters, it equally promised to assist the collateral pursuit. This coun-

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try was Egypt;* and these motives the mediate cause of the invasion.

The government by which this project was formed, did not live to put it in execution; but the succeeding saw its wisdom, and adopted it for its own. It became engaged in war with Britain, as with several other powers of Europe. A period of war is a period of licence for ambition; and now, therefore, the seizure of Egypt, and the attack on the empire of Britain in India, were put into practice. There were still other immediate motives. In the course of the war, France had lost her own territory in India, and her American islands; these she might not be enabled to regain; and Egypt, the acquisition of which was the easier task, was more than a counterbalance. Inferior in naval strength, she had it more within her compass to manage a maritime expedition in the Mediterranean than in the Atlantic or the Indian ocean. If gained, the colony would also be nearer the parent country, more abundant in its benefits, and more easy of defence. Nor was it only in the event of subsequent retention that the possession of Egypt by France would give a wound to Britain. From the instant it should be attempted, it would divert her attention from European politics, it would occupy her with interests more dear to her than those by which she was bound to her allies, it would give a coolness and disjunction to the alliance, it would even indispose or disable her

* See papers found in the cabinet of Lewis XVI.

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to act in the direction which this more immediately required, it might excite alarms capable of detaching her from the objects for which she carried on the war; and, in addition to all these considerations, in case of obtaining possession, it would be advantageous even as a movement of war only, by affording a property with which to purchase peace. On the whole, the invasion of Egypt, both in its mediate and immediate motives, had, not only the raising of France, but the raising of France at the expense of England, for its direct principle; a principle uniformly avowed by the French government and its servants,* and which, by its wisdom and magnitude, appears worthy of having actuated the councils of intelligent statesmen, and of being received by history as the true origin of that event. Individuals, nevertheless, have attributed others; and, under the possibility of their truth, they have a claim to record. Some speculators,† in Britain especially, little considerate of the difficulties by which the vastest and most successful of human power is restrained, and supposing countries as easily overrun as pages, have supposed designs which their readers have admired because they seemed impracticable, and half credited because they were marvelous. Not only the British were to be driven from India, but the whole Turkish empire, all Germany,

* See General Berthier's letter to the Directory, of the 11 *Thermidor, an* 6, and *Proclamation du General Bonaparte aux soldats*, &c. *Pieces Officielles de l' armee d' Egypte.* Iier partie, p. 1.

† See *Political Recollections*, &c. and other publications.

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all Italy, were to be subjugated. More temperate, however, in their hopes, than these in their fears, it is probable that its projectors expected only to abridge the first, and for the rest confined their views on Egypt, the holding of which would at once enable France to stand a competition in the commerce of the east, and add to its general ascendancy among European powers. It is to be added, that a commander in chief of the army employed has stated, as an immediate motive, that the French government had, during the sixth year of the republic, obtained knowledge of the intention of its enemies to possess themselves of Malta, and Egypt itself; that it had only resolved on preventing this; and that the interests of the commerce of the Levant, the annual profits of which had amounted to nearly fifty million franks, demanded the measures it had pursued.* These assertions, however, though officially made, appear, with respect to the two former, to have resulted rather from the private view of the subject entertained by the officer from whom they proceeded, and to whom they are peculiar, than from facts absolutely authentic; and with respect to the third, which probably alludes to certain disputes in which the French merchants were involved with the Beys and others, to comprehend rather subordinate than main considerations.

II. But, whatever were the motives for this undertaking resolved on by the directory, it was attempt-

* *Le General Menou a l'armee francaise, &c. Pieces Officielles, II ieme part.* p. 342.

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ed, and a moment arrived in which policy required this or a similar measure. In the year 1797, the arms of France had almost exhausted all the employment which they could obtain on the continent of Europe, and yet their successes were rendered ineffectual by the superiority of Britain at sea. Deriving wealth from the war itself, and almost secure against the irruption of armies, this insular nation was able to purchase reiterated hostilities from the powers of Germany, and instigate them to encounter dangers from which the loss of money was the only injury herself could sustain. It was necessary, therefore, to change the mode of warfare; it was necessary to aim a blow that Britain was susceptible of feeling. France was without fleets, she was without seamen, she was without naval skill; she could attempt nothing by sea: and yet the sea was the basis of commerce, and commerce of the power of Britain. But France had brave and numerous armies; these were her resources, and common sense dictated their use. Fortunately, a short voyage would convey an army to a point at which Britain was vulnerable; it was fortunate also that this point, while it had the negative advantage of procuring injury to Britain, had the positive one of benefiting France. Under these circumstances an armament was ordered; Malta and Egypt were made its destination;* the troops of which it was composed were principally those who had been victorious in Italy,

* *Pieces Officielles, II ieme part.* p. 343.

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for the Rhine still required the rest, and the command was entrusted to General Bonaparte, him under whom its victories had been gained.

Here, the circumstances that are to follow, require a previous view of the political situation of Malta and Egypt at the era of this enterprize, and the order of ideas that are to be linked, that Egypt be the previous consideration.

Egypt is a province of the Turkish empire, and its inhabitants though divided by the Mosaic, the Christian, and the Mohammedan, yet so much for the most part attached to the latter, that, in a statistical point of view, it is to be regarded as a Mohammedan country. In its quality of province of the Turkish empire, two considerations present themselves; the first the state of peace and alliance which had long subsisted, and which at the time of equipping the expedition still subsisted between that empire and France, and the resistance which the former might desire or be willing to make to the designs of the latter. In regard to the first, a very peculiar tenor of language, in some measure grounded on the second, was held by the government of France. This represented that, though it invaded, it entertained no hostility to the empire; and, while it entered the country by surprizal and force of arms, it spoke amicably to the sultan, and professed to have arguments worthy of ensuring his approbation on its conduct. These arguments, which might be complicated in their nature, or of which a difference of nature might be supposed, were at least cer-

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tainly grounded on the sort of tenure by which the Sultan holds the province.

Egypt, that province, once, through the profusion of physical blessings with which it has been endowed, the seat of one of the first empires of the earth, lost its independence under the sword of Cambyses; in a subsequent age, it changed the dominion of the Persian for that of the Greek; and by this revolution, after the death of Alexander, obtained, though not another line of Pharoahs, a release from foreign controul. The Ptolemies ended in Cleopatra; from a province of the upper Roman empire, it fell to the lower or eastern: the emperor of Constantinople lost it to the successors of Mohammed; the Califs were followed by the Sultans, and Egypt was once more the territory of a sovereign state. In the year of Christ 879, the power of the Califs being on the decline, Ammed, the son of Teilun, Governor of Egypt, usurped the sovereignty;* in the year 1249, Turan, the son of Malek, was assassinated by a Mameluke, or, according to others,† massacred by Mamelukes, Asiatic slaves whom he had purchased, and of whom he had composed his garrisons and marine. From this period, or soon after, the government remained in the hands of the Mamelukes, who augmented and perpetuated their numbers by fresh purchases of slaves, and the monarchy was elective in this body. The Mamelukes progressively raised the aristocracy above the throne, and, about the year 1517, lost the latter to the em-

* *Histoire de l' Afrique, &c. par Cardonne.* † *Ibid.*

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peror of Constantinople, Selim the Second. Depressed, however, by victory, rather than destroyed by conquest, the power of the Mamelukes was suffered to continue, and their whole loss to consist in that sceptre, the mutual struggles for which had been the cause of their weakness. Egypt received a constitution by which, under the title of Beys, twenty-four of these, chosen among themselves, were entrusted with the revenues and civil administration, subject to an annual tribute of six hundred thousand zeckins, and the partial controul of a resident Pasha or Governor; and on condition of spiritual subjection to the Mufti of Constantinople, and acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the Ottoman Sultans in the prayers, and on the coin.

Political arrangements are so much governed by what is expedient rather than by what is desirable, that the wisdom of Selim in the present must, if censurable at all, be censured with caution; and, if it were really possible to have dispensed with the preponderance of the Mameluke body, yet its existence was well calculated to prevent the Governor appointed by the Porte, from assuming independence; and an enlightened statesman would perhaps have judged it an advantage the whole to be considered, that he thus secured himself against the dangers attending the existence of a sovereign power on his more immediate frontier. From this constitution, however (and Selim, perhaps, foresaw and disregarded the evil) it has resulted that the power of the Porte over the internal affairs of Egypt is ex-

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tremely limited, and that the stipulated revenue, or tribute, has often, not by absolute refusal, but by delays and subterfuges, been withheld by the Beys.

This political situation of Egypt, resulting from these circumstances, presented to the designs of the French a difficulty and a facility, both, in a great degree, peculiar to this country. It multiplied, and, at the same time, it divided, the powers against which they have to contend. Both the strength of the Turkish empire, whatever it might be, and that of the Beys, with all their revenues, Mamelukes, and Egyptian followers, were to be overcome; the Beys, however, and the Porte, had many separate interests, and separate interests necessarily threw an advantage in the way of a common enemy; yet the interests of the Beys and of the Porte, however various in domestic particulars, were unanimous in this, their hostility to the existence of a third power in Egypt. On the whole, nevertheless, the disunion of interests was a breach in the palladium, and a discerning enemy might enter.

The conduct of the expedition to Egypt, had therefore a two-fold nature; the Beys were to be subdued by arms, the Sultan by negociation.

Malta, an island lying between that of Sicily and the coast of Africa, and which had committed several acts of hostility against France,* was valuable as a military outwork for the security of Egypt, and in general as a citadel commanding the Le-

* *Pieces Officielles*, P. I. p. 23.

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vant: it is a place at which water is taken in by vessels proceeding up the Mediterranean; and the want of water for the French fleet and convoy was to be made the immediate cause of hostilities; to subdue the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, by which this island was possessed, and the essence of which institution consisted in perpetual enmity to the Mohammedans, would also be an action grateful to the Sultan, the design of conciliating whose favour comes next to be more distinctly considered.

The Beys, it has been seen, were but indifferent subjects, and the actual possession of Egypt by the Porte, little more than nominal: on this foundation it is said to have been proposed to negociate for an admission, more or less unqualified, of the power of France into that country, where, in military and civil authority, it should take the place of the Beys, while, like these, but more faithfully, it should render the stipulated tribute, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Mufti, and the sovereignty of the Sultan. In this broad proposition several modifications might be introduced, and perhaps were intended to exist from the first; but something more plausible, more really consonant with the interests of the Porte, must surely have been designed; or the expectation of acquiescence must have been grounded upon an idea of its moral or at least physical imbecility: it could never be thought that the Sultan would rely upon the continuance of tribute from a power superior to himself, or that he would think France a better neighbour than the Beys;

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and arguments might easily have been brought forward more respectful to his understanding. A further consideration of these arguments is impracticable within the limits of the present sketch; but, of whatever nature they were, it has been rumoured that they were agreeable to a party in the divan, which, rather than the Sultan, governs the Ottoman empire, and the conduct of that government in the actual event of the invasion, accorded, it will be found, with this supposition. In Egypt itself, it was intended to represent the arrival of the French army as a transaction equally favourable to the interests of the Sultan and the inhabitants, and hostile only to the Beys: the Beys, rebellious to the one, and oppressive to the other.

The command, as has been said, was given to General Bonaparte. In General Bonaparte, the republic had a citizen in whose character the soldier was but an ingredient. He was hitherto publicly known for little besides military capacity, or perhaps good fortune. His enemies, proud of fighting with pygmies, spoke of him with contempt. He was, however, a lover of the arts, a scholar, and a statesman. Possessed of ascendancy over those with whom he was concerned, he had at his disposal the arrangements for his expedition; and he went out from France rather a sovereign than a General. The colour of his mind was reflected in the whole armament. Learning and science were leagued with arms. He regarded that of the bayonet as the worst and least permanent of conquests.

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It was only by spreading civilization and assimilating manners that he hoped to retain Egypt; and, preparing to put in practice all that theory could suggest for this purpose, he invited men of knowledge and genius in every pursuit to be his companions: sensible, also, of the valuable discoveries to be made in Egypt, he prepared in like manner to bring back these to Europe.

The military force, when the several detachments were united, consisted of nearly forty thousand men;* and the lists of artists, men of letters, and those of science, contains the following numbers and departments: in geometry eight, in astronomy four, in general mechanics fourteen, in watch-making two, in chemistry eight, in mineralogy five, in botany three, in zoology five, in surgery six, in pharmacy three, in antiquities two, in architecture four, in drawing five, in engineering nineteen, in geography eighteen, in printing fifteen.† In conformity with the various objects attended to in this assemblage of persons, the implements of war were accompanied by those of science.

Though nothing could be more public than the collecting this armament, its destination was kept a profound secret. The peculiar features just described were thought designed only to mislead the world as to its object; and they had the good quality of calling forth the witticisms of men incapable of appreciating their value.

* Dodsley's Annual Register, 1799. † Norry.

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Toulon, on the Mediterranean, was appointed for the harbour from which the principal division should embark, while others were prepared at Ajaccio, Genoa, and Civita-Veccia; and all whose duty were to assemble at the former point repaired thither early in May, 1798. On the ninth of that month, Bonaparte visited the squadron, which was decorated with flags for his reception.* From that day till the nineteenth, the wind continued unfavourable; on this, it changed to the north-west, and the signal-gun for getting under weigh was fired.† On the twentieth, the Orient, the Admiral's ship, and on board of which was Bonaparte, left the harbour,‡ together with fourteen other ships of war, and more than two hundred sail of transports.‖ Addressing a proclamation to the land and maritime forces, and which he denominated the *army of the Mediterranean*, "Soldiers," said Bonaparte, "you are one of the wings of the army of England. You have made war on mountains, on plains, and in sieges; it remains for you to make war by sea. The Roman legions, which you have sometimes imitated, but not yet equalled, combated Carthage by turns on this same sea, and on the plains of Zama. Victory never forsook them, because they were always brave, patient under fatigue, disciplined, and united among themselves. Soldiers! Europe has its eyes upon you: you have great destinies to fulfil, battles to give, dangers, fatigues, to

* Norry. † Denon. ‡ Denon. ‖ Norry.

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vanquish; you have to do more than you have ever yet done for the prosperity of your country, the welfare of mankind, and your own glory. Soldiers, sailors, infantry, artillery, cavalry, be one! Remember that, in the day of battle, you will have need of each other. Soldiers! sailors! you have been hitherto neglected; now, the greatest anxiety of the republic is on your account: you will be worthy of the army of which you make a part. The genius of liberty, which, from her birth, has rendered the republic the arbiter of Europe, wills that she shall be the same of the most distant seas and nations."*

The troops were further encouraged by the promise of unusual advantages; the land to which they were going was said to be fitted, and by the republic destined, to afford them a permanent provision, and each was to have a gift of six arpents of land.

The secrecy in which the object of the expedition was involved, did not lessen the apprehensions of the powers against either of which it was possible that it might be directed. That it was equipped in the ports of the Mediterranean was some guide to conjecture; and Britain did not neglect to watch that sea with all the vigour and closeness which a numerous and admirable fleet could effect. With respect to the Porte, it was arranged that at the same moment in which the expedition left Toulon, a French ambassador should proceed to Constantinople, to inform the Sultan of the motives

* *Pieces Officielles*, &c. P. I. p. 1.

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of the invasion of Egypt; a precaution which, from a cause, says General Menou, upon whose authority this assertion is made, that can only be suspected, was not taken.* A rumour, to which allusion has already been made, represents that the ambassador at Paris was privy to the affair, that negociations had been opened with a party at the head of which was the then Grand Vizier, and that, in a word, the counsels of the Divan were divided upon the measure.

After coasting along France, and a part of Italy, the fleet passed between Cape-Corsica and the island of Capraya.† From the crew of an English brig, which an aviso burnt on the coast of Sardinia, it learned that a squadron was in its pursuit.‡ On the ninth of June, it reached Malta, after a voyage unattended with any species of difficulty.‖ The soldiers had been kept in constant employment, either learning to climb the masts, or exercising the guns.**

In the evening of the ninth, Bonaparte sent ashore one of his aid-de-camps, to ask permission of the grand master to fill water at the different anchorages of the island; and the manner in which this request was answered was to settle that in which the island was to be treated. The reply was brought by the Consul of the republic at Malta. It amounted to an absolute refusal; the grand master professing himself unable to let more than two transports take

* *Pieces Officielles*, P. II. p. 343. † Denon. ‡ *Pieces Officielles*, P. I. p. 4. ‖ Ib. ** Ib.

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water at the same time; a mode by which, upon calculation, the whole armament, to which the convoys from Corsica and Italy were now joined, and which consisted of five or six hundred sail,* would have required three hundred days for this operation.† The want of the army, says Bonaparte (as if the capture of Malta had not made a part of the original plan) was urgent, and rendered it my duty to employ force for its relief.‡ He directed the Consul to address a letter to the grand-master, in which, after describing him as indignant, that he should have given permission to water only by *four* vessels at a time, the latter invited him to propose some medium of accommodation, and assured him that the city had no hope but in the generosity of the French commander, who had given the most precise orders that the religious customs, and property of the Maltese, should be scrupulously respected.‖ After some trivial resistance, the island was subdued. The inhabitants took refuge in the metropolis of Valetta, whence an heavy fire was kept up during the evening of the tenth. The besieged made a sortie, in which they lost the standard of the order. Bonaparte began to land his artillery; and, at the same time, not trusting to military efforts alone, he attempted various negociations, by the result of which this place, capable of enduring a siege of immense duration, was induced to capitulate on the same evening. The Consul-general of the Batavian republic was requested to write to

* Ib. p. 5. † Ib. p. 22. ‡ Ib. p. 5. ‖ Ib. p. 22.

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Bonaparte on the part of the order: "His most eminent highness and his council, having sent for me, have commissioned me to observe to you, citizen General, that when they denied you entrance into the ports, and begged to have your answer, they pretended to no more than a perception of the departure which you required of them from the laws imposed by their neutrality. The conduct of the order towards the French republic, and the protection which, as well as its people, from whom it will always be inseparable, it has always received from the French nation, cause it to consider a rupture as a misfortune to which it wishes to put an end. His most eminent highness, therefore, and his council, ask for a suspension of hostilities, and for information concerning your intentions, which will doubtlessly be conformable with the generosity of the French nation, and the known sentiments of the celebrated General by whom it is represented." During the night, a convention between the republic and the order was framed and concluded. This consisted of eight articles, by the first and most important of which the order put into the hands of the army the city and forts of Malta, and surrendered to the republic its rights of sovereignty over, and property in, that city, together with the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino; by the sixth, the knights were secured in their private property; and by the seventh the people in their religion and privileges, and from all extraordinary

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levy.* On the twelfth, Bonaparte wrote to the bishop of Malta, commending the pacific conduct of that prelate; begging him to assure his clergy that, not only the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion would be respected, but its ministers specially protected; declaring that he knew no character more worthy, nor more deserving of the veneration of mankind, than that of a priest, who, full of the true spirit of the Evangelist, feels that his duty commands him to preach obedience to the temporal power, and to maintain peace, tranquillity, and union, in the midst of a diocese; and requesting him to come immediately to the city of Malta, there, by his influence, to preserve good order and tranquillity among the people: he added that he would meet him there himself that evening, and that he desired to be then presented to all the *Curès* and other principal persons of Malta and the surrounding villages.† In reply, the bishop assured Bonaparte of his disposition to act in the manner of which that General had expressed his approbation, and of his intention to take no part in any thing foreign to his pastoral ministry; and professed his pleasure in being able to say that the entrance of the French troops into the city had been effected without the least effusion of blood, a blessing for which he could not but take care to render thanks to the Almighty by a solemn *Te Deum*, which he had ordered to be sung in public and pompous procession, that very day.‡ During the five follow-

* Ib. p. 32. † *Pieces Officielles*, p. 37. ‡ Ib. p. 38.

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ing days, amid a variety of military cares, as well for the conquest as for the armament, Bonaparte published a civil constitution for Malta,* the minute particulars of which, though interesting in the extreme, it is not possible to insert in this memoir. The civil administration was vested in nine commissioners, under controul of the military commander, and each of whom were to perform the office of president for six months alternately.

Of military stores, General Bonaparte found at Malta two vessels of war, one frigate, and four gallies, twelve hundred pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred thousand pounds of powder, forty thousand muskets, and other articles.† All the money in the treasury of Saint-John did not amount to a million franks. This Bonaparte left to provide for the expenses of the garrison, and for those of completing a ship, called the *Saint-John*.

The garrison was made to consist of four thousand men,‡ under the command of Vaubois, general of Division, the officer who had commanded the debarkation, and who had conciliated the inhabitants by his wisdom and mildness.‖ By one of the articles of the constitution, or code, all slavery was abolished; and, by another, in consequence, all the Turkish slaves were to become prisoners of war, "and, seeing the friendship which subsisted between the republic and the Ottoman porte, sent home when the General-in-chief should direct the

* Ib. p. 39. † *Pieces Officielles*, p. 8. ‡ Denon and others: according to Norry, 3000. ‖ *Pieces Officielles*, P. I. p. 9.

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same, and when he should find that the Beys consented to send to Malta all the French or Maltese slaves they possessed."* These Turks, and other Mohammedans, were taken on board the fleet, to the number of some hundreds, together with a body of volunteers, under the denomination of the *Maltese legion*.† These recruits, in some degree, supplied the place of the soldiers left in garrison, and of various persons grown weary of their voyage.‡

On the seventeenth, the squadron began to leave the port. On the evening of the eighteenth, the whole got under weigh.

It has already appeared that, at Malta, no secret was made of the destination of the armament, and its reference to the *Beys*. Some disturbances being caused at Malta by the soldiery, and through misconduct of a nature to be very extensively injurious in Egypt, Bonaparte drew up a set of regulations enforcing the strictest discipline under heavy penalties, and caused them to be read on board each ship.‖ Among other articles, it was ordered that whoever should violate the women, or enter the houses of the Mohammedans, or the Mosques, should be shot; and none of these regulations, the spirit of

* Ib. p. 44.

† Norry. In his letter to the Directory, the General observed that he had caused the Turks to embark as sailors, but said nothing of any other troops. Neither are the latter mentioned by M. Denon. The Annual Register (Dodsley's, 1801) however, on what authority does not appear, says that Bonaparte was joined by "some thousands of the Maltese sailors and soldiers."

‡ Denon. ‖ Norry.

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which is so necessary for the welfare of an army, were transgressed.* In a proclamation, published two days subsequently to the departure from Malta, after declaring the object of the expedition, which was to promote the general interests of civilization and commerce, and humble the naval power of England, and confidently promising, after several fatiguing marches, and some hostile encounters, complete success, Bonaparte told them they were going to live with Mohammedans, the first article of whose religious creed was, that *There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet.* "Do not contradict them," said he. "Conduct yourselves towards them as you have done towards the Jews and the Italians. Show respect to their Muftis and Imams, and the ceremonies prescribed by the Koran; as you have shown to the Rabbis and the Bishops. Cherish the same spirit of toleration for the Mosques that you have entertained for the religion of Moses and of Jesus Christ: the Roman legions protected all religions. You will find here usages different from those of Europe. You will reconcile yourselves to them by custom. The people of the land into which we are about to enter, differ from us in their mode of treatment of women; but, in every country, he who offers violence to the women is a monster." Bonaparte proceeded next to warn them against giving way to a spirit of plunder: "Plunder, which enriches only a very few, reflects dishonour on the whole; it dries up our resources, and

* Norry.

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converts into enemies those whom it is our interest to have for friends." In conclusion, he reminded them that the city they were going to attack was built by Alexander, and that grand recollections, fitter to excite the emulation of Frenchmen, would be recalled to their minds at every step. At the same time, orders were issued that every individual of the army who should pillage or steal, should be shot; that the punishment of death should also be inflicted on every individual of the army who should impose contributions on the towns, villages, or individuals, or should commit extortions of any kind; and that, when any individuals of a division should have committed any disorders in a country, the whole division, if the offender should not be discovered, should be responsible and pay the sum necessary to indemnify the inhabitants for the loss sustained.*

Eight days were employed at Malta; the voyage between that island and Alexandria was performed within twelve more.† On the thirtieth of June, the fleet was before the city. A frigate had been dispatched, to warn the Consul and other Frenchmen of its arrival, and gather information as well concerning the actual dispositions of the inhabitants as concerning the British fleet.‡ While the frigate

* The original proclamation, which appears to be the same with that alluded to by M. Norry, being omitted in the *Pieces Officielles*, and otherwise out of reach, the above detail is given solely on the authority, and in the words, of *Dodsley's Annual Register*, for 1801.

† *Relation des campagnes, &c. par le General de division Berthier.*

‡ *Pieces Officielles*, P. I. p. 107.

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lay in the offing, a small vessel, in spite of her efforts to the contrary, ran into the port; and, though the British had been there three days before,* and raised the alarm;† it was not till now that a general tumult arose, threatening the lives of the Franks. In the vain custody of some mariners of Alexandria, the Consul, however, was permitted to come on board the frigate, by which he was carried to the Admiral's ship.

At this point of time, an heavy sea opposed the descent; the transports were mingled with the ships of war,‡ and, in this unfavourable situation, the attack of the British was to be momentarily expected. It was now late in the evening. Bonaparte ordered an immediate debarkation.

According to one account, Bonaparte placed himself at the head of the debarkation;‖ but, according to his own, General Menou, with his division, was the first, and himself followed, with General Kleber.** The violence of the wind rendered the proceeding as difficult as it was dangerous; and some lives were lost in the boats. General Menou, however, reached the shore, near Marabut, within a league and an half of Alexandria; and, at eleven o'clock, was joined by Bonaparte. At day-break, a body of Mamelukes and Arabs began to skirmish with the advanced posts.

On approaching the enclosure of the old city of the Arabs, Bonaparte ordered each column to halt without the range of the cannon: desirous to pre-

* *Berthier*, p. 8. † Denon. ‡ Ib. ‖ Ib. ** *Berthier*, p. 9.

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vent the effusion of blood, he attempted a parley; but horrible shouts of men, women, and children, and a cannonade from a few pieces that were immediately unmasked, declared a resolution to defend the city.* After the walls were scaled, every house was defended; but, before the end of the day, the city was calm, the two castles had capitulated, and the invaders were in entire possession of the city, its forts, and its two harbours.†

In the evening, the Imams, Shechs, and Shereefs, promised fidelity to the government; and Bonaparte published this proclamation: "Too long have the Beys who govern Egypt insulted the French nation, and loaded her merchants with vexations: the hour of their chastisement is arrived. Too long has this horde of slaves, purchased from Caucasus and Georgia, tyrannized over the fairest part of the world; but God, upon whom every thing depends, has ordered its empire to end. People of Egypt! you will be told that I come to destroy your religion; believe it not: reply that I come to restore your rights, and punish the usurpers, and that I venerate, more than the Mamelukes, God, his prophet, and the Koran. Tell these that all men are equal before God: wisdom, talents, virtues, make all the difference between them. Now, what wisdom, what talents, what virtues, distinguish the Mamelukes, that they exclusively should possess all that is lovely and sweet in life? Is there a beautiful estate? it belongs to the Mamelukes. Is there

* *Pieces Officielles*, P. I. p. 107. † Ib.

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a beautiful slave, a beautiful horse, a beautiful house? they belong to the Mamelukes. If Egypt is their farm, let them show the lease that God has granted. But God is just and bountiful to all mankind; all the Egyptians are called to fill all posts: let the most wise, the most informed, the most virtuous, govern, and the people will be happy. There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, great commerce: by what has all been destroyed, if not by the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the Mamelukes? Cadis! Shechs! Imams! Tshorbadjies! tell the people that we are the friends of true Moslems. Is it not we that have destroyed the Pope, who said that war must be made on Moslems? Is it not we that destroyed the knights of Malta, because the madmen believed that God willed them to make war on Moslems? Is it not we that have long been the friends of the Grand Seignior (whose designs may God accomplish!) and the enemies of his enemies? Are not the Mamelukes, on the other hand, in continual rebellion against the Grand Seignior, whom they still refuse to acknowledge? They execute only their own schemes. Thrice happy those that are for us! they shall prosper in their rank and fortune. Happy those that are neuter! they will have time to become acquainted with us, and they will come to our side. But wretched, thrice wretched those that shall arm for the Mamelukes, and fight against us! there shall be no hope for these; they shall perish!—I. All villages, situate within a line of three leagues of the

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places passed by the enemy, shall send a deputation to the General commanding the troops, to inform him of their submission, and their having hoisted the colours of the army (white, red, and blue.) II. All villages that shall take up arms against the army, shall be burned. III. All villages that shall submit to the army, shall display, with that of the Grand Seignior our friend, the flag of the army. IV. The Shechs shall put their seals upon all goods, houses, and other property belonging to the Mamelukes, and shall be careful that nothing is embezzled. V. The Shechs, Cadis, and Imams, shall continue to perform the functions of their situations; every inhabitant shall remain at his accustomed station, and prayers shall be continued as usual. Every one shall thank God for the destruction of the Mamelukes, and cry, Glory to the Sultan, glory to the French army, his friend! curses on the Mamelukes, and happiness to the people of Egypt!"*

During the siege, General Kleber, at the foot of the wall, while pointing out to his grenadiers the place at which he wished them to scale, was struck on the forehead by a ball. He fell; but the wound, though serious, was not mortal.† He was left in command of the place.‡

On landing, the greater part of the army had entered Alexandria only to pass through it into the desert;‖ the remainder, with the exception of the garrisons placed in this city, and the troops dis-

* *Pieces Officielles*, P. I. p. 233. † Ib. p. 108. ‡ *Berthier*. ‖ Denon,

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patched under General Menou, for the reduction of Rashid,* commenced its march for Cairo on the sixth and seventh of July. At half past nine o'clock on the morning of the third day, it discovered the Nile at Rahmanieh. The soldiers, fatigued with their march across the desert, and fainting with thirst, threw themselves, clothed as they were, into the water. Almost at the same instant, the drum called them to their colours. A body of Mamelukes, to the number of about eight hundred, had advanced in order of battle; but, on the hastening of the French to arms, they withdrew; and, before Bonaparte could advance, fled before the artillery, commanded by General Desaix. The French lost one officer and a guide, and had ten infantry slightly wounded. The Mamelukes had about forty killed and wounded.

Bonaparte resolved to rest at Rahmanieh during this and the following day. In the night of the latter, General Menou, who had possessed himself of Rashid without difficulty, and left it with forced marches, joined the army. He brought information that a French flotilla had happily entered the Nile, but that it ascended that river with difficulty, the water being still low. Immediately after his arrival, the army marched towards Miniet-Salameh, where it slept, and whence it departed before day-break.

* Commonly called *Rosetta*. The use of a right name instead of a wrong, can need no apology. Some years ago, *Abu-kir* was written *Beaucquier*. *Rosetta* is not a synonym, but a corruption, of *Rashid*.

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At a league before it, Murad-bey, at the head of four thousand Mamelukes, had posted himself to oppose its progress. His right was sustained by the village of Jibbrish, in which he had placed some pieces of cannon. On the Nile, he had several batteries, and a flotilla composed of eight or ten large gun-boats, and armed jerms.* Bonaparte, apprized of his station, had left Rahmanieh to offer him battle.

In point of cavalry, the Mamelukes were greatly superior to the French; the latter having only two hundred, and those lame and harrassed, while the former, four thousand in number, were not more magnificently than vigorously appointed.†

The French flotilla had joined the army, and it was ordered by Bonaparte to proceed, keeping such a course as might enable it to support the left of his line, and attack the flotilla of the enemy at the moment he attacked the Mamelukes and the village; but the violence of the wind compelled it to gain a league upon the army, and to meet and fight the flotilla of the enemy at disadvantage. The peasants, conducted by the Mamelukes, threw themselves into the boats, and into the water itself, and boarded a demi-galley and a gun-boat; two other gun-boats were taken by the Mamelukes; but the French commander re-captured all, and, after an obstinate combat, in which, on the one side and the other, more than an hundred and fifty discharges of cannon were given, set fire to the Mameluke ad-

* *Berthier*, p. 20. † *Pieces Officielles*, P. I. p. 110.

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murad, and to several others of the fleet, and dispersed the whole.*

Meanwhile, informed, by the noise of the guns, of the engagement, Bonaparte forced the village, the front of which had been covered by the army of the Beys. The Mamelukes of which this was composed, advanced upon the wings of the French, seeking, according to their manner of fighting, a weak point in the flanks or rear, on which they might make impression; but, the line being every where equally strong, and receiving them with a double fire of the flank and front, after several irresolute charges, and spending a part of the day within half cannon-shot, they retreated with the loss of six hundred, killed and wounded. The French lost seventy men.

Bonaparte now advanced within a trifling distance of Cairo, without further impediment, than such as a burning climate, and the want of water and other necessaries, threw in his way; but, at the pyramids, he found the Beys prepared to make one more effort for the defence of the metropolis. His more formidable enemy was before; but he had another that continually harrassed his rear: this was the Arabs; who attacked every one at the least remove from the column, and, at the distance of three hundred toises, kept the army without communication with Alexandria.

The twenty-three Beys, at the head of whom was Murad, had entrenched themselves in the vil-

* *Berthier. Pieces Officielles.*

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lage of Embabeh. Their force was said to consist of six thousand Mamelukes, and a multitude of Arabs and peasants. Here, a division of the Mamelukes charged with the rapidity of lightning, and the individuals (for they fight individually) displayed a bravery that would have been admirable but that it was the bravery of madmen, seeking, as it were, death in preference to victory. The division imprudently threw itself between two of the French battalions; and, seizing the moment, Bonaparte immediately ordered an attack on the entrenchments and the village. The village was turned, the entrenchments forced, and the whole army routed. Murad was pursued to Gizeh; and crowds of the Mamelukes, Arabs, and peasants, vainly performing prodigies of valour, fell under the bayonet, or, attempting to escape, were drowned in the Nile. Forty pieces of cannon, eighty camels, and the baggage and provisions of the enemy, fell into the hands of the French. The rich costume of the Mamelukes afforded the soldiers a considerable booty. Such is the superiority of European tactics, that, in this battle, so decisive and disastrous to the Beys, the French had only ten killed, and thirty wounded.

On the morning of the next day, the principal person of Cairo, headed by the Kia or Lieutenant of the Pasha of Egypt, came to offer to Bonaparte possession of the city. Bonaparte assured them of the desire of the French to be in amity with the people of Egypt and the Ottoman Porte, and of the

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scrupulous respect that would be shown to the manners, customs, and religion of the country. The Pasha had left Cairo in the night, with Ibrahim-bey. The deputation returned, accompanied by a detachment of the army. The people had availed themselves of the defeat and flight of the Beys, for an opportunity to run into some excesses: the house of Murad had been pillaged and burnt; but the proclamations of the Chiefs, and the appearance of the army, re-established order.

On the twenty-third of July, two months after his departure from Toulon, Bonaparte removed his head-quarters into Cairo. On the loss of the battle of the Pyramids, the Beys had divided their forces into two parts. The one, under the command of Murad, whose office placed him at the head of the military establishment of Egypt, and whose talents rendered his superiority universal, retired into upper Egypt, while the other, under Ibrahim, the official head of the civil department, doubled into the lower, and towards Suez and Syria. The French were in need of rest, and Bonaparte felt it necessary to devote to himself the establishment of a provisory government for the city and the country: he wished, therefore, to have deferred, not only the pursuit of Murad, but that of Ibrahim also; which latter waited for the reinforcement of Mamelukes that would arrive with the caravan from Mecca: nevertheless, as the neighbourhood of Ibrahim, who employed his time in raising insurrections, was an evil to be checked, Brigadier-

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General Leclerc, after a repose of eight days, was sent from Cairo with three hundred cavalry, three companies of grenadiers, a battalion and two pieces of light artillery, with orders to take a position at Canca, and observe the motions of this Bey. On the sixth of August, three other divisions of the army joined in pursuit of Ibrahim, who, though unsuccessfully, had attacked Leclerc on the day after his leaving Cairo. Ibrahim retreated towards Salehieh, on the confines of the desert which separates Syria from Egypt. In the course of the pursuit, Bonaparte rescued several parts of the sacred caravan, the attack of which his endeavours to prevent had failed. He gave the pilgrims, the merchants, and their women, a supper, set them on camels, and furnished them with a strong escort to Cairo. On the arrival of the French at Salehieh, Ibrahim continued his retreat into Syria. The rear-guard of the Bey, itself three times more numerous than the advanced of the French, was still in sight. Bonaparte's infantry was a league and an half behind; but, with the few cavalry he possessed, he followed and fell upon the Mamelukes. The latter fought only in the way of protecting their retreat; but the French having forced their way between the ranks, a combat, furious beyond all proportion with the number of persons engaged, ensued. Every man fought for himself, and equal courage distinguished either side. Several of the French received numerous wounds, and about twenty were killed. In their flight, the Mame-

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lukes abandoned two pieces of cannon, and fifty camels. Bonaparte left General Caffarelli to fortify Salehieh and Belbeys, and, on the twelfth of August, re-arrived at Cairo.*

Ibrahim-bey, who had been wounded in the skirmish, was now in the midst of a painful journey of nine days, between the canals of the Delta and the rivulets of Syria. Murad was in the valley of Fayum, anxious, for the present, rather to avoid than attack the arms of the invaders. In a word, the Beys had no longer an army. Their hostile efforts had dwindled into those of insurgents; and their hopes of success were placed rather upon revolts among the people, than in victories over the troops. The capital was in the hands of the French, repeated defeats had broken the spirits of the friends, and encouraged the animosity of the enemies of the Beys, every measure that could conciliate the Egyptians with their new masters was adopted; and, for every force that was to originate within the country itself, its conquest appeared to be complete. With respect to the Sultan, his acquiescence was confidently expected; and the actual possession of the French was a powerful argument for its expediency.

Thus, and in this manner, had France added to her territories that portion of the earth which nature might seem to have designed for the seat of universal empire; that portion of the earth where (one, but one mighty river, more than countervail-

* *Berthier. Pieces Officielles.*

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ing continents of deserts) triple and quintuple harvests offer food for a countless population; where the productions of the tropics might be innocently reared; where the trade between India and Europe was anciently conducted, and where nothing but its government prevents it from being resumed, to the manifest benefit of mankind; where, in a word, the junction of two seas, and of Africa, Asia, and Europe, form a point of communication between the whole world.

But, in whatever degree Egypt is a wealthy or important territory, in whatever degree its possession could aggrandize France, and, still more, in whatever degree it could injure Britain, in that it behoved the latter to oppose its change of possessors. The conquest of Malta had discovered the destination of the French armament; and, from that moment, with a policy and activity the reverse of which would have been folly and indolence, this government strained every nerve to render its labours fruitless. A division of the British fleet stationed in the Mediterranean, under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, had been in search of it from the moment of its leaving Toulon. This reached Malta two days after it had sailed for Alexandria. Seeing the tri-coloured flag on the forts, the fleet had steered directly for Candia. It passed within six leagues of the armament; and, not finding it at this island, proceeded to Alexandria. Here it landed a dispatch for India,* and it

* *Pieces Officielles.*

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declared itself in pursuit of the French.* It waited two days off Alexandria; when, imagining its enemy might be in the Archipelago, or off Alexandretta, it left this station. On the thirty-first of July it returned; but, in the interim, on the first, the French had arrived, and accomplished their purpose. Thirty days had elapsed since the troops and the greater part of their stores had been landed, and the conqueror was already in the chief city of the country, at leisure to cultivate the arts of peace; but Admiral Brueys, though in momentary expectation of the British, was still, with his squadron, in the road of Abu-kir, at a few leagues from Alexandria. On commencing his march for Cairo, Bonaparte had sent him a letter, desiring him to enter, within twenty-four hours, the port of Alexandria; or if, as was apprehended, his squadron, for want of sufficient water, could not enter, to land with the utmost expedition, all the artillery and equipage of the army, and repair to Corfu.† At the time of the general debarkation, it had been ordered by Bonaparte to form the fleet in line of battle before Marabu; but, two ships of war running foul of each other, had fallen on the Admiral, and obliged him to anchor on the very spot where he then was,‡ and which happened to be among the rocks before Alexandria.‖ Two vessels having lost their anchors at this station, he ran to Abu-kir, which offered a better anchorage. Here Bonaparte sent officers of the engineers and artillery,

* Denon. † *Pieces Officielles.* ‡ Berthier. ‖ *Pieces Officielles.*

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who convinced the Admiral that he could receive no protection from the shore, that, if the British appeared during the two or three days, that, as well to discharge the artillery, as to sound the entrance of the port of Alexandria, he must remain at Abu-kir, his only resource was in cutting his cables, and that it was of the first urgency for him to stay as short a time as possible. He left Alexandria in the firm belief that, within three days, the squadron would have entered the port, or sailed for Corfu. For twenty days, the Arabs cut off his communication with Alexandria. At length, he received a letter from the Admiral, wherein the latter informed him that he had been reconnoitred by several British vessels, and that he had fortified himself, with the design of waiting for the enemy, embosomed in Abu-kir. This extraordinary resolution filled the General with the most lively alarms, and the more as the letter, written on the nineteenth of July, had not reached him till the twenty-eighth. He sent one of his aids-de-camp, with orders not to return till he had seen the squadron under sail. On his way, the aid-de-camp was killed by a party of Arabs; but, leaving Cairo on the twenty-ninth, had he arrived in safety his journey had yet been useless; for, on the afternoon of the thirty-first, Rear-Admiral Nelson entered the bay.

The scheme of fortification upon which Admiral Brueys had placed his reliance, had been that of drawing up his ships as so many batteries, supported by the shore on the rear, and by an inlet and the

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castle of Abu-kir on the right of his line; but Admiral Jervis had taught the British navy the bold and grand manœuvre of cutting the line of battle, and Sir Horatio Nelson, pursuing this principle almost to temerity, divided the French into two parts, stationed himself between them and the shore, and placed them between two fires. This was an enterprize worthy of success, and that because it was replete with danger. It did not insure victory; it braved defeat; the contest was long; and the laurels arduously won. The French line was doubled at half past six: at about half past nine, the Orient caught fire, and at ten blew up. A long period of total silence ensued. Admiral Brueys, who had been wounded at eight, had been killed an hour before the destruction of the ship; and the loss of their commander encreased the confusion of the French. Admiral Nelson had received a wound in the head, and, for some time, it was apprehended to have been mortal. The action re-commenced. Its horrors were encreased by the serenity of nature; a clear sky, a full moon, resplendant stars, the stillness of night, and the calmness of the sea, contrasted with the murkiness of the smoke, the flashes and the roaring of the artillery. A second ship of the French was blown up. The sun rose on the war. Nine British vessels were dismasted, and two considerably battered; but, with the exception of two ships of the line, and two frigates, which had not been engaged, the whole of the French were either absolutely destroyed, or lying

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unmanageable on the water, the prizes of Admiral Nelson. The four still in condition to fly, discovering at dawn the havoc made among their companions, cut their cables and escaped. Rear-Admiral Nelson dispatched a seventy-four with the news of his victory, while himself remained in the bay, refitting his ships for sea.*

"It appears to me," says General Bonaparte in his letter to the Directory, "that Admiral Brueys was unwilling to retire to Corfu before he was absolutely certain that he could not enter the port of Alexandria, and before the army, of which he had long been without news, was secure from all necessity of retreat; but if, in this fatal event, he had his faults, he has expiated them by a glorious death."†

Though the capture of empty vessels, after their important cargo was withdrawn, may, comparatively, appear a barren triumph, this was far from being the fact. The naval power of France in the Mediterranean was annihilated; and were the resources of Egypt what they might, and its submission to the French troops how decided soever, these things were now matters unconnected with France. A wide sea separated the two countries; and, though Egypt might be wrested from the Porte, only the consent of Great Britain could unite it with France: besides, this victory gave a grace to the tone of dictation in which the former was now to speak to the Porte.

* London Gazette, &c. † *ieces Officielles.*

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That the Porte was disposed to leave Egypt in the hands of the French, is a fact which appears unquestionable. Though the Ambassador had not reached Constantinople, though the French ministers might use subterfuge in their explanations, the invasion was plain language; and yet the Porte required two months for circumlocution.* This extreme patience to tardy elucidation betrays an extraordinary willingness to hear; and, even without imagining this government very anxious to part with an important province, it may be easily believed that, yielding to the necessity of the case, it was not particularly displeased to part with it to France: certainly, France, deficient in maritime strength, and constantly checked in this important particular, would have been a less dangerous neighbour than Britain; and of the designs of Britain on Egypt, the Porte, with however little foundation, had long been jealous. Warned by the example of India,† she held it as a maxim of fundamental policy, to prevent Europeans, and, most of all, the British, from establishing themselves in the ports of Egypt. When that country was entered by the French, she had abundant reason to prefer a peaceable admission of this nation, or the adoption of domestic measures for its expulsion, to committing her cause to Britain and Russia; and, if a fair view of her interests be at all reconcileable with this

* See the manifesto of the Porte.

† See a firman of the Porte, in the preface to *Political Recollections*, &c. by *George Baldwin, Esq.* &c.

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reasoning, her conduct, both before and after she entered into a coalition with these powers, affords incontestable proof that it was that which she adopted. Of the manner in which this coalition was brought about, a French officer has related, as from the mouth of the Vizier, that the Porte was forced into an immediate war against France, supported by Russia and Britain, under pain of immediate war with those two powers themselves;* and the conduct of the Porte will for ever corroborate the anecdote.

Allied, however, in what her partners called a *common cause*,† she did come forward for the deliverance of her own dominions. A plan was arranged for an irruption of the Russian and Ottoman troops on the side of Syria, while the British and Russians acted in the Mediterranean, where the Czar, passing the Dardanelles, joined with complacency in the blockade of Malta. Aware of the designs of his enemies, Bonaparte prepared to crush them in the bud, or at least to free himself at one point before he was attacked at the other. The Porte, in spite of every peaceful effort, was now his enemy; and it became incumbent on him to force it, if possible, into a change of sentiment. He resolved to enter Syria, the adjoining province of the empire.

When Ibrahim-bey had crossed the desert, he was flatteringly received by Ammed el-Jezzar, the Pasha of Syria. This Pasha had long been the ene-

* *Pieces Officielles.* † *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 61.

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my of the French nation, and he eagerly seized the opportunity of gratifying his hatred. He had recently been appointed Pasha of Egypt; and, designing to take possession of his Pashalic by force of arms, he had possessed himself of the fort of Arish, the ancient Larissa, which was even occupied by his advanced guard.

Under all these circumstances, Bonaparte prepared an expedition, of which, besides overpowering the Pasha, there was reason to hope that, if successful, it might force the Porte to seek refuge in France from the alliance of Russia and Britain.

After a rapid march, the army arrived before Arish, in the middle of February, 1799. The village was presently forced with the bayonet, the inhabitants seeking security in the fort. In the evening the fort was blockaded. The same day, a body of Mamelukes, escorting provisions for Arish, trusting to the superiority of their numbers, encamped behind a deep ravine, within half a league of the place. In the night, a part of Reynier's division turned the ravine, took the camels and baggage, and either killed or made prisoners all the Mamelukes who did not escape by speedy flight.

Hitherto, Bonaparte had remained at Cairo. He learned that an English cruizer, with some other vessels, had commenced a bombardment of Alexandria; but, conceiving that this could have no other object than of diverting him from his expedition, he left that city to an attack from which it could receive but little injury, and repaired, with

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his Etat-Major, to Arish, where he ordered a cannonade on one of the towers. The place had been repeatedly summoned; and, as soon as a breach began to be effected, this proceeding was renewed. The garrison, says General Bethier, was composed of Arnauts and Maugrabins, all barbarians, without Chiefs, and ignorant of all the usages and principles of war among polished nations. They commenced a correspondence equally singular and curious, and which alone would paint their characters. Bonaparte, who had the strongest interest in avoiding waste of his army and ammunition, patiently waited the result of their whimsical proceedings, and deferred the assault. Parleys and fightings were successively renewed. At length, on the eleventh day of the siege, the garrison, to the number of six hundred, came out, and laid down its arms, on condition of being allowed to retire to Bagdad by the desert. A party of Maugrabins entered the French service.*

After the battle of Gaza, Bonaparte crossed an immense plain to Jaffa, a sea-port town, which he was compelled to take by assault. "Never," says this General, in his official dispatch, "did the horrors of war appear to me so hideous."† Without an idea of capitulation, the orientals truly fight for death or victory. On entering the place, the garrison defended itself from house to house, and it was only by killing four thousand‡ of the Pacha's

* *Relation des Champagnes, &c.* p. 55. † *Pieces Officielles*, P. I. p. 147.
‡ Ibid.

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troops, and a part of the inhabitants, that the enemy could be subdued. As soon as he was master of the city and forts, Bonaparte gave orders for sparing the inhabitants; and General Robin, after some difficulty, stopped the disorders which usually follow an assault. Three hundred Egyptians, prisoners of the Pasha, were restored to their houses.*

With a force somewhat short of thirteen thousand men, Bonaparte at length appeared before the town of Acca, the seat of the Pasha el-Jezzar. The natural strength of this place consisted in its communication with the sea: for the rest, it was to be defended rather by men than by walls. The narrow limits of this memoir scarcely allow a line to the narrative of the siege of this place, a siege which will long be remembered to the glory of the defenders. A practicable breach was made; but the besieged repulsed repeated assaults. At length, Bonaparte retreated from the walls, and returned to Cairo.

Within a short period, a descent of the Turks occasioned a second battle at Abu-kir, in which the French were victorious.

* *Bertbier.*—This affair, to the French Generals, which appeared deplorable, supplied Sir Sidney Smith with a story of "the inhuman massacre at Jaffa," and Mr. Morier with that of "the four thousand five hundred prisoners of war" who were made to stand still while the soldiers murdered them by charge of bayonet, and which has this poetical ending: "To this day, their skeletons, and the sands steeped with gore, attest the barbarous act." It is lamentable to hear an Ambassador's secretary, a man who ought to know something of the calumnies to which public characters are exposed, bring all history into contempt by relating such things as these; but he goes on to say, that after the siege of Acca, Bonaparte poisoned his wounded.

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After this battle, four or five hundred wounded Turks remained in the hands of the French. Bonaparte sent them without exchange to the Pachrona-bey, Vice-Admiral of the squadron. The vessel in which they were carried brought back the London and Frankfort newspapers, from the tenth of June. In these, Bonaparte read the reverse of the army of Italy, its retreat behind Tanaro, and its evacuation of a part of Switzerland. He resolved to return to Europe; but Rear-Admiral Gantaume, and others, represented to him that it was almost impossible to escape the British squadron, the badness of the French frigates, the season, and the blockade of the port, considered. He returned to Cairo, leaving orders with the Admiral to prepare two frigates, and inform him by a dromedary of any temporary absence of the British. On the twenty-fourth of August, at six in the morning, the Admiral dispatched information that the British and Turkish squadrons had sailed for Cyprus. At nine in the evening orders were sent to all who were to be of the voyage, to hold themselves in readiness at midnight, to accompany the commander-in-chief in an excursion in lower Egypt. Bonaparte appointed General Kleber, who was at Damiatt, to meet him at Alexandria, and General Menou, who was at Rashid, to meet him on the beach of Abu-kir. He saw the latter at five o'clock on the 29th; but General Kleber did not arrive. He apprized General Menou of his design, and gave him the command of Alexandria. The Rear-

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Admiral informed, that Bonaparte had left Cairo, had dropped into the road, a league from the shore. Bonaparte resolved to depart in the night, and waited only while every one could get on board. He gave all his instructions to General Menou, with orders to forward them to General Kleber, and he embarked from Egypt.*

Nine days after the departure of General Bonaparte, General Kleber published a proclamation to the army, in which he declared that imperious motives had determined the commander-in-chief to return to France; that, acting for the welfare of the soldiery, neither the unfavourableness of the season, nor a sea covered with enemies, had been able to detain him; that powerful succours would arrive, or rather a peace worthy of their labours, and restoring them to their country; that their patience and bravery emboldened him to receive a burden which had been borne by Bonaparte; and that their pressing wants should be the objects of his earnest solicitude.

Towards the latter end of December, 1799, the united Turks and British invested the fort of Arish. A great part of the French garrison was in a state of indiscipline; and, on the sixth day of the siege, some of the soldiers invited the besiegers from the walls, assisted them with ropes, and opened a postern for their admittance. The Turks entered; and cut off the heads of even those who had let them in.

* *Pieces Officielles*, P. I. p. 345.

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Before he left Egypt, Bonaparte had commenced negociations with the Porte, proposing the ultimate evacuation of that country, but stipulating to retain it during the war with Great-Britain. These negociations he had recommended it to General Kleber to continue. The difficulties of the latter's situation increased; and he entered with more earnestness than ever into a correspondence with the Vizier.

In the course of this correspondence, which terminated in a convention entered into at the Vizier's camp, near Arish, Sir Sidney Smith, by whose valour the town of Acca had principally been defended, and who was known to the Turks and French for many other services in Egypt, took a very active share. When it was completed, he acceded to it on the part of Britain, and, in fulfilment of its terms, issued passports for the return of the French to Europe. The operations of these in Egypt appeared to be completed; and a part of the army was even embarked, when Admiral Earl Keith, the British officer commanding in the Mediterranean, received the following secret order:

"Whereas the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, has acquainted us, by his letter of this day's date, that a dispatch has been received from Lord Elgin, his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, stating, that the commander of the French army in Egypt had made proposals to the Turkish government, offering to evacuate that country, upon

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condition of being suffered to return unmolested to France; that the Turkish government appeared disposed to acquiesce in this offer; and that application had been made to his Lordship, requesting him to grant passports for this purpose: and, whereas, in consequence of this information, Lord Grenville has signified to us his Majesty's commands, that instructions should be given to the commander-in-chief of his Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, enjoining him not to consent, on any account, to the return of the French army to France, or to their capitulating in any other manner than jointly to the allied powers whose forces are employed against them, or upon any other terms than that of giving up their arms, and surrendering as prisoners of war to the allied forces so employed; your Lordship is hereby required and directed, in pursuance of his Majesty's commands, as above signified, to govern yourself accordingly, and on no account to consent to the return of the French army in Egypt to France, or to their capitulating, except on the conditions above specified.

" In case of the surrender of the army on those terms, your Lordship is on no account to admit of the return to France of the officers, or any part of the army, on an engagement not to serve until exchanged, the fallacy of all such engagements, and the bad faith with which they have been observed by the enemy, having been proved by repeated instances, particularly in the case of the seamen taken in the battle of the Nile, and afterwards land-

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ed in Egypt; but in any such capitulation, to take care that a stipulation be made for the actual detention of the officers and men, as prisoners of war, in some part of the territories of the allied powers, until they shall be exchanged; that the vessels of every description, belonging to the enemy, in the port of Alexandria, shall also be surrendered, and be divided among the allies, in proportion to the naval force which each of them may have employed at that time in the blockade of Alexandria, or in any other operations against the enemy.

"If it should so happen, that his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople should have granted passports, before his Majesty's pleasure in this respect can have been signified to him, your Lordship is in such case to direct the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war under your orders, who may fall in with any other vessels having on board any of the enemy's troops, and being furnished with such passports, to declare to the commanding officer of such troops, that the said passports are of no validity, not being given, as the laws of war require, by persons having any authority for that purpose; but that in this case they should not exercise any other act of hostility against such ships, or the troops therein embarked, than what may be necessary in order to compel the vessels to return with the troops to Alexandria.

"Your Lordship is to communicate these determinations by a flag of truce, with as little delay as

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possible, to the French army in Egypt, unless you, or the officer employed by you for that purpose, shall have certain information that the whole negociation has been broken off, and that there is no longer any question of such separate and unauthorized capitulation."*

This order, issued by the Lords of the Admiralty on the fifteenth of December, 1799, was followed up by a corresponding communication from Lord Keith to the French General, and a total rupture of the convention ensued. On the twenty-eighth of March, 1800, the same authority dispatched a second order to Lord Keith, apprizing him of the willingness of the King, his master, under the circumstances of the case, to allow of the return of the French army to France:

"The Right Honourable Lord Grenville, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, having, in his letter of this day's date, acquainted us, that in consequence of the information contained in the dispatches lately received from your Lordship, Lord Elgin, and Sir Sidney Smith, relative to the capitulation of the French army in Egypt, his Majesty had been pleased to signify his commands, that instructions should be transmitted to your Lordship, expressing his Majesty's disapprobation of the terms entered into by the said capitulation, those terms appearing to his Majesty to be more advantageous to the enemy than their situation en-

* This paper was presented to the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury. See *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 53.

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titled them to expect, and being likely to prejudice the interests of the allies; by restoring to the French government the services of a considerable and disciplined body of troops; that besides this objection to the terms, his Majesty does not consider Captain Sir Sidney Smith as having been authorized either to enter into or to sanction any such agreement in his Majesty's name, that officer having had no special authority for that purpose, and the case not being one in which the Captain commanding his Majesty's ships on the coast of Egypt ought to have taken upon himself to enter into an agreement of this nature, without the sanction of his commanding officer; but that as the General commanding the enemy's troops appears to have treated him as a person whom he *bona fide* conceived to possess such authority, and as a part of the treaty was immediately to be executed by the enemy, so that by annulling this transaction (in as far as his Majesty's officer was a party thereto) the enemy could not be re-placed in the same situation in which he before stood, his Majesty, from a scrupulous regard to the public faith, has judged it proper that his officers should abstain from any act inconsistent with the engagements to which Captain Sir Sidney Smith has erroneously given the sanction of his Majesty's name.

"And whereas Lord Grenville has, at the same time, acquainted us, that with this view he shall transmit to the Earl of Elgin his Majesty's commands to settle with the Porte the form of a pass-

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port to be given in the name of his Majesty, not as a party to the capitulation, but as an ally to the Porte; and that it is his Majesty's farther pleasure, the said passports, as well as those which may have been in the interval (however informally) granted by Sir Sidney Smith, are to be respected by his Majesty's officers; but that although, from the consideration above-mentioned, his Majesty does not think proper to obstruct the execution of this treaty by the Porte in the manner therein stipulated, he does not feel himself bound to authorize his officers to take any active part in it, or to furnish any convoy or transports for its execution, or to take any other share in carrying it into effect; yet, if any application should be made to your Lordship, for liberty to send cartel ships from France to Egypt, for the transport of the army, under the capitulation, your Lordship is to grant such passports accordingly, under such restrictions and precautions as you may judge necessary, according to circumstances:—to prevent this liberty being abused to any other purpose, we do, in pursuance of his Majesty's commands, as above signified, hereby require and direct your Lordship to govern yourself accordingly, and to give the necessary orders in consequence to the commanders of his Majesty's ships and under your command; taking care at the same time to apprize Captain Sir Sidney Smith of his Majesty's pleasure on the subject of his proceedings herein; and in case your Lordship should see any ground to apprehend any intention on the

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part of the Turks, or of the Russians, to prevent the execution of the capitulation, or to commit any act of hostility against the French army, either before or after its embarkation, we do farther direct your Lordship, in such case, to use your utmost endeavours to persuade them to all such measures as may be the most consistent with the faithful observance of the engagement contracted with the enemy."*

This order arrived too late. Lord Keith had said that the French should be permitted to leave Egypt only on laying down their arms, and surrendering themselves prisoners of war. These terms had inflamed the army; and the Grand Vizier having demanded to be put in possession of Cairo, a battle ensued, which was fought near the site of the ancient Heliopolis, and in which the Turkish forces were wholly routed. On returning to Cairo, General Kleber found himself obliged to besiege that city, which shortly submitted. The fortunes of the French were now wholly changed; and France, now governed by General Bonaparte, invested with the title of First Consul, resumed her hopes of maintaining the conquest.

The rupture of the treaty of Arish has been imputed to bad faith on the part of the British government, but this is a charge wholly without foundation. Much importance has been thought to attach itself to the question, whether Sir Sidney Smith

* This paper was presented to the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury. See *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 53.

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was or was not a minister plenipotentiary, the addition by which he described himself to the Vizier and the French General, and in which quality he treated for the evacuation of Egypt; but, in truth, the question is wholly foreign to the subject. Sir Sidney Smith was a minister plenipotentiary; but his powers extended to nothing more than the treating of and concluding a treaty of alliance between Great Britain and the Porte.* There was no falshood; but there was a want of spirit of co-operation on the part of the Porte, a negligence in framing of the treaty, and a strange misapprehension of his proper functions in Sir Sidney Smith.

From the battle of Heliopolis, a period of a year and a half, during which a peace was made with Murad-bey, and during which the French had the misfortune to lose General Kleber, by assassination, must be passed over, in order to arrive at the counter-invasion of the British, under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercromby.†

* See *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 60.

† In this interval, also, several of the learned and scientific persons, who have been described as accompanying the expedition, and who had already travelled into upper Egypt, commenced a second journey: "I hope," says General Menou, "that they will now reach the Oases, and penetrate an hundred or an hundred and fifty leagues above Assuan. We are assured that there are still existing ruins much more considerable than those of Thebes and Dendera: the same is said of the Oases. Murad-bey offers to assist the research by every means in his power." "At this moment," he continues, "we are working hard at Saccara. I am about to cause new researches at the great pyramids. It is suspected, with much reason, that there exists other chambers above those already known." *Pieces Officielles*, P. II.

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On the second of March, 1801, the armament arrived before Abu-kir. The weather was now serene; but, it having been obliged to sail from Marmorice in a very imperfect state of preparation,* an immediate landing could not be made, and a severe gale of wind rendered this impracticable during the four following days. At length, on the seventh, the wind abating, the General reconnoitred the shore, and determined on the place of landing. The delay had afforded leisure to the French for assembling a large body of troops; but, in spite of a vigorous resistance, the British, on the morning of the eighth, gained possession of the peninsula.† On the ninth, the remainder of the army was landed, and on the twelfth, marched within two leagues of Alexandria, and one of the enemy, who had posted himself advantageously on a ridge, with his right on the canal, and his left on the sea. The enemy attacked on the thirteenth, but was driven under the walls of Alexandria. On the twenty-first, he brought nearly his whole force into action, and the fortune of the day was with the British; but Sir Ralph Abercromby received a wound, of which he died on the twenty-eighth: "I believe," says General Hutchinson, the officer second in command, "that he was wounded early in the action, but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field giving his orders with that coolness and perspicuity which had ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when

* *London Gazette.* † *Political Recollections*, &c.

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he fainted with loss of blood. Here, if it were permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him, more than any other person: but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that, as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious."*

Under the orders of General Hutchinson, the enemy, now besieged in Alexandria, was cut off from all communication with the interior, by opening the canal into the lake Mareotis, which was entered by Sir Sidney Smith, with seven gun-boats. The French cut the dyke in another place, to let the waters from lake Mareotis out upon the plain.

On the twenty-seventh of June, Cairo was reduced; and, on the twenty-eighth of August, Alexandria. Both Cairo and Alexandria surrendered by capitulation; the principal article of which stipulated, that the French and auxiliary troops should be embarked and conveyed to the French ports on the Mediterranean, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and effects, at the expence of the allied powers.†

On the ninth of October, preliminaries of peace were entered into between France and the Ottoman Porte.‡

* *London Gazette.* † *Ibid.* ‡ *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 81.

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TRAVELS

IN

UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

The Author embarks at Toulon on board La Junon.... Order of sailing of the French fleet and convoy.... Pass Corsica and Elba....Amusements of the crew at sea....View of Sicily from sea....Join General Desaix's convoy at Gozo....Malta.

I HAD from my infancy wished to make a voyage to Egypt; but time, which softens every impression, had weakened this desire. When the expedition, which was to render us masters of that territory, was on foot, the possibility of executing my old project awakened the wish to undertake it. In a word, the hero who commanded the expedition decided on my departure: he promised to take me with him; and I had no anxiety about my return. As soon as I had made the necessary provision for those whose existence depended on my own, I became tranquil as to what was passed, and devoted

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myself wholly to the future. Being fully persuaded that he who is in the constant pursuit of any object, acquires from thence the ability to attain his aim; I no longer reflected on the obstacles which were in my way, or at least I felt within myself all that was necessary to surmount them. My heart palpitated, without my being able to explain whether this emotion arose from joy or from sorrow. Shunning all social intercourse, I wandered about, and became agitated, without having any object in view, and without foreseeing or providing any part of what would become so useful to me in a country where few resources were to be found. The brave and unfortunate Du Falga permitted my nephew to accompany me; an indulgence for which I felt every gratitude. In quitting all that was dear to me, to have the society of an amiable relative was the means of preventing the chain of my affections from being broken: it kept my mind in the exercise of its sensibility; and marked the delicacy of that good and enlightened man.

I shall say but little of my journey from Paris to the port where we were to embark. We arrived at Lyons without having quitted our carriage; and we there embarked on the Rhone to proceed to Avignon. On viewing the fine banks of the Saone, and the picturesque scenes of the Rhone, it struck me, that, without enjoying what he possesses at home, man seeks in distant climes food for his insatiable curiosity. I had seen the Neva, I had viewed the Tiber, and I was now in search of the

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Nile: I had, however, when in Italy, seen no antiquities superior to those of Nismes, Orange, Beauvaise, St. Remy, and Aix. I mention the latter place, because we staid an hour there, which gave me an opportunity to bathe in the apartment, and in the very bath in which, since the time of the Pro-consul Sextus, nothing except the cock had been changed.

We spent a day at Marseilles, from whence we set out on the 13th of May, 1798, for Toulon. On the following day I embarked on board the frigate La Junon, which, in company with two other frigates, was to reconnoitre a-head of the fleet.

The wind was foul, and we quitted the port with some difficulty. We fell aboard two other vessels, an unlucky omen, which would have induced a Roman to return into port. He would, however, have been to blame, seeing that chance, which in almost all cases helps us more effectually than we can help ourselves, by not allowing me to do what I wished, and by conducting me implicitly to what I was to do, placed me from that moment at the advance-post, which I was not to quit during the expedition.

On the 15th our manœuvres were confined to standing off and on the port.

Towards the evening of the 16th, we discovered four sail, which manœuvred in order of battle to leeward of us. The hammocks were ordered on deck; a terrible command, of which no idea can be formed by those who have not been at sea. Silence,

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terror, the preparatives for slaughter, and those still more dreadful to meet, its consequences, all display themselves in the same point of view. The manœuvres and the guns are the only objects of solicitude: the crew form but a secondary consideration.

Night came, but did not restore our tranquillity; we passed it at our posts. At day-break we found that we had taken every advantage of the wind. The vessels in sight of us were so distant, that we could not judge whether they were ships of the line or frigates. They were four to our three: and our lower rigging was embarrassed by trains of artillery. In the afternoon the Commodore ordered us to form a line of battle, hoisting his colours, and firing a gun. The ships in view of us now hoisted Spanish colours. At night we were allowed to sleep; but at three in the morning were awakened by the order to prepare for action.

I was not sorry that the expedition should begin by something brilliant: I was not, however, without my apprehensions of exchanging the Nile for the Thames. We were within gun-shot of the strange ships, when our Commodore sent his boat on board them. After an hour's absence, the boat returned with the intelligence that we had caused an uneasiness equal to our own to four Spanish frigates, which certainly did not come to seek a quarrel with us.

On the 19th, at day-break, the wind shifted to the north-west. The ships of the line and the con-

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my quitted the port, and by noon the sea was covered with vessels. How grand a spectacle! Never can any national display give a more sublime idea of the splendour of France, of her strength, and of her means. Is it possible to reflect without admiration on the facility and promptitude with which this great and memorable expedition was got ready? Thousands of persons belonging to all the classes of society repaired to the ports, almost the whole of them ignorant of what was to be their destination.

They deserted wives, children, friends and fortune, to follow Bonaparte, and for this reason only, that Bonaparte was to be their guide.

On the 20th, the Orient at length quitted the port, and we put to sea with a fair wind, each vessel taking her station in order of sailing. Our squadron of frigates was a-head. Next came the commander-in-chief, with his advice-boats, and the line of battle ships. The convoy kept within shore, between the islands of Hieres and the main land. In the evening the breeze freshened: the Franklin carried away her mizen-topsail. Two frigates belonging to our division were dispatched to give notice to the Genoa convoy to join us; and on the 22d in the morning, we were off St. Fiorenzo, in the island of Corsica.

We directed our course towards Cape Corso, steering to the east, and leaving to the left Genoa, and the shore of Liguria. Our line of battle ships extended for a league; and the half circle formed by the convoy was at least six leagues in extent. I

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counted an hundred and sixty vessels, without being able to reckon the whole.

On the 23d in the morning, the frigates had weathered Cape Corso. The line of battle ships were off the Cape, and the island of Capraya. The convoy followed in good order; but being to leeward of the Cape, and not being able to double it in the course of the day, we were obliged to lie too at the distance of a league from the land.

On the morning of the 24th, the frigates were off the eastern coast of Corsica, opposite Bastia, the road and port of which I could distinguish very clearly. The city appeared to me to be well built, and the country about it less rude in its aspect than the rest of the island. The island of Elba is a rock of ferruginous earth, the crystallized portions of which present all the colours of the prism. This rock is divided into three sovereignties. The seignory and mines belong to the prince of Piombino; Porto Ferraio, to the left, belongs to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and, to the right, Porto Longone is the property of the King of Naples.*

The south-west part of the island of Capraya, which was within our view, is no other than a steep and inaccessible rock. This island belongs to the Genoese, who have, at the eastern part, a fortress and an anchorage ground.

At five in the afternoon the island of Pianose was to the east of us. Its flat surface is a league in

*By the last treaty of peace with Naples, the possession of the island is secured to France.

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extent, and as it is elevated a few feet only above the surface of the sea, it is extremely dangerous in the night to pilots who are unacquainted with the coast. It is situated between the island of Elba and Monte Christo, an uncultivated rock, abandoned to wild goats. To the west of the latter island the wind died away, and our sluggish convoy ceased to make any progress.

When a calm ensues, sloth developes all the passions of the crew of a vessel, giving birth to each superfluous want, and to the disputes which arise to procure it. The seamen wanted double allowance, and vented their complaints. The most greedy among them sold their effects, or disposed of them by way of lottery; while others, with a strong propensity to gamble, played, and lost more in a quarter of an hour than they could pay in their life-time. Those who had lost their money staked their watches, six or eight of which I have seen depending on the chance of a die. When night put a stop to these turbulent enjoyments, a bad fiddle, or a worse singer, charmed a numerous auditory on the deck; while, at a little distance from these, an energetic story-teller drew the attention of a group of seamen, who never failed to manifest their resentment against any one who should attempt to interrupt the recital of the prodigies of valour and marvellous adventures of *Tranche-Montagne*.* The hero of these tales being invariably a warrior, each of the adventures was as probable as it was interesting to the auditors.

* A story similar to that of our Jack the giant-killer.

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In the mean time our provisions diminished daily, while we remained in a manner stationary.

On the 25th, we were still off Monte Christo, and the eastern coast of Corsica. This part of the island appeared to me to be more agreeable, and better cultivated than the others.

On the 26th, at day-break, we were off the strait of Bonifacio; and, our convoy being collected, should have made a considerable progress, had we not been obliged to lie to, and to wait for the divisions of Ajaccio and Civita Vecchia. The Diane and an advice-boat had been dispatched to them; while the frigates had received orders to cruise ahead, and to hail and reconnoitre vessels.

On the morning of the 27th, we had entirely lost sight of land. The following day was spent in a state of perfect stagnation. In a sea-cruise a calm resembles the sleep which opium procures in a raging fever: the evil is suspended, but the malady is not subdued.

On the 29th, we stood on, having been joined by the Ajaccio convoy: that of Civita Vecchia had not made so much speed. The island of Corsica was no longer in view; and we were abreast of the island of Talara.

The island of Sardinia is not so elevated as Corsica. These two islands, one situated at the extremity of the other, appear like a prolongation of the chain of the Alps, which terminates at the gulf of Genoa, as do also the chains of the Apennines and Vosges mountains, together with all those

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secondary chains, which are no other than so many branches diverging from the same point. At noon the signal was made for a written order. We were so much in need of events, that this circumstance diffused gladness in every breast. The purport of the order was, that we were to proceed to Cagliari, and, on our arrival off that port, were to return to Porto Vecchio, if we had been anticipated by an enemy of superior force.

On the 30th and 31st, we were prevented from taking advantage of the wind, the ships of the line and convoy doing nothing but standing off and on. In the evening we were joined by the Badine, which brought the intelligence that we might be almost certain of reaching Cagliari point without molestation. Nothing new occurred until the 4th of June. Our provisions were nearly expended, and our water become so fetid as to be scarcely drinkable. The useful animals had disappeared, while those that fed on us were multiplied an hundred fold.

On the following day, the 5th, we received orders to form the line afresh, which led us to think that we were to prosecute our expedition without delay, and for that purpose to cross over to the opposite shore. The Diane led. We repeated her signals to the Alceste, which transmitted them to the Spartiate, from whence, by the medium of the Aquilon, they were conveyed to the ship of the commander-in-chief. By eight o'clock we were in the order I have just described. In case the

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Diane should chace an enemy's vessel, the other ships composing the flying squadron were to crowd sail to come up with her and her chace. We saw several small dolphins play before the head of the ship; but, to our great mortification, they disappeared while we were preparing to harpoon them. I had a close view of them: Their progress resembles the pitching of a vessel. They leap out of the water, and dart forward twenty feet. They are elegantly shaped, and their rapid movements rather resemble a sportive gaiety, than announce the voracity of an animal in quest of its prey. In the evening the wind freshened, and, shifting round from the east to the west, collected the convoy in such a way, that I fancied I saw Venice floating on the waves. At sun-set we descried Martimo, and received orders to rally the convoy, in the midst of which we were to pass the night, as in a floating city.

On the 6th, we kept in the same order of sailing. We were still in sight of Martimo, a rock which resembles a mole, at the western point of Sicily. It is one of the rallying points of the Mediterranean, where we might have fallen in with the English. The wind freshened, and we went at the rate of two leagues an hour. Under such circumstances as these, the inconveniences of a sea-life are forgotten, and nothing felt but the advantage of having such an agent as the sea for the transport and conveyance of forty thousand men, as in our case, without halt or relay. At one o'clock,

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being off Martimo, and at one league's distance from thence, we descried Favagnana, another rock, situated in front of Trapano, and mount Erix, which overlooks that city, celebrated for a temple of Venus, and for the way in which sacrifices were there made to that goddess. I had formerly visited mount Erix, where I had sought the temple, and the city renowned for the beauty of its female inhabitants: in spite, however, of my youth, and of a fervid imagination, I could discover nothing but a paltry village, and some foundations of a temple.

The coast of Sicily, a country agreeable, productive, and well cultivated, made us amends for the rude aspect of the coasts of Corsica, and the adjacent rocks. To me it had another charm, that of remembrance. I had figured to myself Sicily as an ancient property. I could perceive, through the vapours of the atmosphere, Marsala, formerly Lilibæum, from whence the Greeks and Romans descried the fleets which came out from Carthage to attack them. At a more remote distance, I had a glimpse of the verdant and flourishing plains of Mazzarra, and of the city of Motala, celebrated for the combat between the Carthaginians and Syracusans. My imagination, following the coast, figured to itself the aspect of Selinuns, its temples and its upright columns still resembling towers. At a still greater distance, I fancied I could perceive the hospitable Agrigentum. We made a progress of three leagues an hour; and the picture which my ima-

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gination had drawn was about to be realized, when a signal was made to call in the frigates.

The night was fine; we spent it in the midst of the fleet. I had requested to be waked if the land should be in sight at day-break. At half after three I was on deck; and, as soon as the day dawned, I perceived that the fleet and convoy had put out to sea, and were steering towards Malta. Sicily soon disappeared. To the south-west I perceived, or rather I fancied I could distinguish, the island of Pantaleria, in the midst of the thick clouds in which it is constantly enveloped. Thither it was that the Romans exiled the illustrious characters they proscribed; and there the Neapolitan state-prisoners are at this time confined.

On the 7th we had a clear sky; but, the wind having died away, we made but little progress. Having been obliged to give chace to a strange sail, we were separated from the fleet, which we could not join afterwards. We saw a fish about eighty feet in length.

The night was calm; and, on the 8th, at day-break, we were precisely in the situation in which we had been on the preceding evening at sun-set. To the north-east we descried Etna towering above the horizon. I could see its figure very distinctly. The smoke issued from the eastern side, and denoted an eruption from an accidental aperture. Notwithstanding it was fifty leagues distant from us, it appeared larger than the mountains to the south, which were distant only twelve leagues. When

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the sun had attained a certain degree of elevation, it disappeared, together with the shadow by which its circumference was marked.

At six in the evening we descried Gozo, which, at the distance of seven leagues, I very clearly distinguished, reddening at the horizon. We lay to all night to wait for the convoy. On the following morning, at day-break, I had another view of Etna, the smoke of which spread itself in the air to a distance of more than twenty leagues, like a long sheet of vapours. We were then fifty-three leagues distant from the island.

The men of war all passed under the stern of the commander-in-chief. We had not as yet approached the Orient since our departure; and this evolution was so awful and majestic, that, notwithstanding the pleasure we had at seeing each other again, we did not add a single phrase to the *good day* which we pronounced with a low voice in passing.

We steered towards the north side of Gozo. It is an elevated rock in form of a peak, and without anchorage. We afterwards coasted along the western part, within half gun-shot. On that side, which at first sight appears as barren as the other, cotton is, however, cultivated. All the little vallies resemble so many gardens. In the middle of the island there is a large village, and on the most elevated part a fortress with casements, very well built.

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At eight in the morning a signal was made for several strange sails, thirty of which could be distinguished. Was this the enemy's fleet? On reconnoitering, it was found to be the Civita Vecchia convoy, having on board General Desaix's division. This convoy had kept within shore along the Italian coast, had passed through the strait of Messina, and was off Malta some days before us.

As an impetuous torrent, which has increased its bulk in passing over mountains covered with snow, threatens in its course, accelerated by its mass, to sweep away forests and cities; so our fleet, now become immense, unquestionably spread terror and dismay wherever it was descried. Corsica, warned of our approach, felt no other emotion than that which is inspired by so grand a spectacle: Sicily was appalled; and Malta in a state of stupid consternation. We will not, however, anticipate events.

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CHAPTER II.

Arrival of the fleet at Malta....Attack on the town and capitulation....The fleet pursue their voyage.... Accident at sea....Discover the British fleet near Candia....Make the coast of Egypt....Barren appearance of the land....Tower of the Arabs....View of Alexandria from sea....The army disembark and carry Fort Marabou.

At five in the afternoon we were off Cumino and Cuminotto, two islots which lie between Gozo and Malta, and which, together with these islands, constitute the whole of the sovereignty of the Grand Master. There are several small fortresses to protect these islots from the Barbary pirates, and to prevent them from establishing themselves there when the Maltese gallies are no longer at sea. One of our barks approached, but a landing was refused: she sent her small boat to sound the anchoring grounds. At six o'clock we descried Malta, the aspect of which delighted me as much as when I first saw it. Two paltry barks came out to offer us tobacco. The evening closed and not a light was to be discovered in the city. Our frigate was off the entrance of the port, within less than a gun-shot of fort St. Elmo. Orders were given to prepare for landing the troops. At nine o'clock a signal was made for the ships to take their sta-

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tions: there was little or no wind: the ships of the line made night signals relative to these movements, and to those of the convoy. Rockets were let off, and guns fired, in consequence of which all the lights were extinguished in the port. Our Captain went on board the flag-ship, but on his return concealed from us the orders he had received.

On the 10th, at four in the morning, having been carried away by the strength of the currents, we were to leeward of the island, the eastern part of which was in sight: it was still calm.

A gentle breeze sprung up, and advantage was taken of it to form a semi-circular line, one of the extremities of which terminated at St. Catharine's point, and the other a league to the left of the city, blocking the port. The centre was stationed off forts St. Elmo and St. Angelo; and the convoy at anchor between Cumino and Gozo. Immediately after, a shot was fired from fort St. Catharine, levelled at the barks which approached the shore, and at the troops for landing under the command of General Desaix. Instantly another shot was fired from the fortress which commands the city, and on this fortress the standard of the religion was displayed, at the same time that, at the other extremity of the line of our vessels, our boats were employed in landing troops and field-pieces. Scarcely were they formed on the beach, when they proceeded to the attack of two posts, the garrisons of which retreated after a momentary resistance. The batteries of all the forts now commenced a fire on the

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ships and debarkations. This fire they kept up till the evening, with an imprudent precipitation, which betrayed their fears and confusion. At ten o'clock we saw our troops ascend the nearest height, and march to the rear of Valetta, to oppose a *sortie* made by the besieged, who were driven within the walls, and under the batteries. The firing was kept up until night. This attempt on the part of the Knights, aided by the peasants, was fatal to them. During their absence there had been tumults in the city, where the populace massacred several of them on their return.

The wind dying away, we took advantage of the little that remained to join the ships of the line, from an apprehension of being becalmed, and of being thus exposed to the fire of two Maltese gallies which had anchored off the entrance of the port. I was constantly on deck, and, with a spying glass in hand, could have kept a journal of all that passed in the city, and have noted in a manner the degree of activity of the passions by which the movements were guided. The first day all was in martial array, the Knights in full uniform, and a constant communication kept up between the city and the forts, into which provisions and ammunition of every kind were thrown. Every thing, in short, indicated hostility. On the second day the movements were confined to an agitated state. A part only of the Knights were in uniform: they disputed with each other, but had ceased to act.

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On the 11th, at day-break, the state of things was pretty much the same as on the preceding evening. A slow and insignificant fire was kept up by the besieged. Bonaparte had returned on board; and General Regnier, who had made himself master of Gozo, had sent off several prisoners, Frenchmen. After having questioned them, Bonaparte said to them with a stern voice: "Since you have taken up arms against your country, you should have known how to die. I will not accept such prisoners: you may therefore return to Malta, which is not yet in my possession."

A bark left the port: we sent a small boat to hail her, and to conduct her to the commander-in-chief. When I saw this small bark carry at her stern the standard of the Religion, sailing humbly beneath the ramparts, which had for two years victoriously resisted all the forces of the east, commanded by the terrible Dragut; when I figured to myself this accumulated glory, acquired and preserved during several ages, melt away when opposed to the fortune of Bonaparte, I thought I heard the ghosts of Lisle-Adam and Lavalette vent their dismal lamentations, and I fancied I saw Time make to Philosophy the illustrious sacrifice of the most venerable of all allusions.

At eleven o'clock another bark came off with a flag of truce. It had on board several Knights who had quitted Malta, and who did not wish to be comprehended among those by whom resistance had been made. It was easy to collect from their

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conversation that the Maltese had but few resources left. At four in the afternoon the Junon was within half gun-shot of the island: I had a distinct view of the forts, in which I could perceive fewer men than guns.

The gates of the forts were shut, and there was no longer any communication between them and the city; a circumstance which manifested a distrust and misunderstanding between the inhabitants and the Knights. Junot, an aid-de-camp, was sent with the General's ultimatum. A few minutes after, a deputation of twelve Maltese commissioners went on board the Orient. We were stationed exactly opposite the city, which runs from north to south, and which we could see from one extremity to the other, the streets being in a right line. They were as well lighted as they were obscure on the night of our arrival.

On the 12th, in the morning, we were informed that the General's aid-de-camp had been very favourably received by the inhabitants. I could distinguish, with the help of my glass, that the palisade by which fort St. Elmo is enclosed, was assailed by a multitude of persons. Those who were within were seated on the walls of the batteries, in an attitude which denoted anxious expectation. At half after eleven, the bark which had brought the flag of truce, and which had remained under her stern during the night, left the Orient. We received, at the same time, orders to hoist our co-

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hours, and, a moment after, the signal was made that Malta was in our possession.

This island became an intermediate station between our country and the one we were about to subdue. It completed the conquest of the Mediterranean; and never had France attained so great a degree of power. At five o'clock our troops entered and took possession of the forts: they were saluted by the fleet with five hundred guns.

We had been the first in quitting Toulon, and we were the last in entering the harbour of Malta. We did not land until the 13th in the morning. I was no stranger to this surprising city; and was not less struck, on this second occasion, than on my first visit, with the formidable aspect by which it is characterized.

Geographers are not decided whether Malta should be annexed to Europe or to Africa. The persons of the Maltese, their moral character, complexion, and language, ought to determine the question in favour of Africa.

Both the French and Maltese were very much surprised at finding themselves on the same ground. On our side it was enthusiasm; on their's stupefaction.

All the Turkish and Arabian slaves were set free; and never was there a stronger expression of joy than that which they manifested. When they met the French, gratitude was expressed in their countenances in so affecting a way, that I repeatedly shed tears. It was to me a true feast of the soul.

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To convey an idea of their extreme satisfaction on this occasion, it is necessary to state, that their governments never either bought or exchanged them. Their slavery was not alleviated by any hope; and they could not even dream of the termination of their sufferings.

I went out in quest of my old acquaintances, and viewed with a new delight the fine paintings in fresco of Calabreze, with which the roof of the church of St. John is decorated, and the magnificent picture of Michael Angelo de Caravagio, in the sacristy of the same church. I next visited the library, where I saw an etruscan vase found at Gozo, of the greatest beauty, both with respect to the earth and the painting. I likewise inspected a very large glass vase, a lamp also found at Gozo, and a kind of votive disk in stone, with a bass relief, representing on one of the sides, a sphinx, with a paw placed on the head of a ram. The style of this latter object sufficiently denotes its antiquity. The other curiosities in the library are to be found in the description of the cabinet of Malta, and in that which I have given in my picturesque travels in Italy. A few months before our arrival, a tomb had been found near Malta, at a place named Earbaceo.

On the fourth day after our landing, the commander-in-chief gave a supper, to which the members of the newly constituted authorities were invited. They saw with equal surprise and admiration, the martial elegance of our Generals and the

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assemblage of officers, on whose countenances beamed health and vigour, glory and hope. They were struck by the noble physiognomy of the commander-in-chief, the expression of which seemed to augment his stature.

The commotions which had taken place in the city on our arrival, had occasioned the shutting up of the coffee-houses, and other places of public amusement. The more respectable inhabitants, not yet recovered from their astonishment at the events which had taken place, kept themselves within doors; while our soldiers, heated by wine and by the climate, inspired so much terror among the trades-people and the lower classes, that they shut up their shops, and hid their females. This fine city, where we saw no one but ourselves, appeared dull to us. The forts, bastions, and strong fortifications, seemed to announce to the army that nothing could impede its progress, and that it had only to march to victory; and the soldiers returned on board with pleasure. The wind, however, prevented our getting out of harbour: of this delay I availed myself, and made a view of the interior of the port.

During the whole of the 18th, we stood off and on before the port.

On the morning of the 19th, the Orient came out of harbour. Four thousand men, commanded by General Vaubois, were left on the island, together with two officers of engineers and artillery, a civil commissary, and, in short, all those who, impelled

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by their curiosity, and a rambling inclination, had embarked without sufficient reflection, and who, through sickness, or a false mode of reasoning, were become disgusted on the way, representing as so many injuries, which, according to them, they were made to suffer, the inconveniences inseparable from a sea voyage. There were among them those who, perfectly insensible to the beauties of Malta, the conveniences of its ports, and its advantageous position, were surprised that a rock beneath the burning clime of Africa should not be as verdant as the vale of Montmorency; as if each country had not received from nature her peculiar gifts! To travel is to enjoy these gifts, which are destroyed by an endeavour to draw a comparison between them.

If the aspect of Malta is barren, one cannot but admire that the smallest hill, which contains an inconsiderable portion of earth, should be converted into a garden equally delightful and abundant, in which all the plants of Asia and of Africa might be inured to the climate, and made to flourish. This species of primary hot-house might serve to supply another at Toulon; and these productions might thus be brought by degrees to Paris, without having been exposed to those rude checks which are occasioned by a sudden and extreme difference of climate. It is probable that a great part of the exotic plants which we cultivate annually at a great expence in our green-houses, where they languish the second year, and perish the third, might be

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naturalized here. The experiments made on animals seem to support this system of gradation.

The whole of this day, the 19th, was employed in collecting the fleet of line of battle ships, the squadron of frigates, and the convoy. At six in the evening a signal was made to observe the order of sailing. The movement was general in every direction, and was productive of some confusion.

Being obliged to give way to the Admiral's ship, we perceived, a little too late, that the Leoben was on the point of running foul of us. The officer of the watch pretended that the Leoben was in fault, and confined himself strictly to his tactics. Our Captain, more intent to save the frigate against the rules of seamanship than to injure the Leoben, ordered a manœuvre: the officer of the watch gave orders for another; a moment of inaction ensued; and it became too late for exertion. I was aware of our danger from the distortions I observed in every part of our Captain's countenance and person. We shall fall aboard! we are running foul! we are aboard! were the three sentences pronounced in succession; and time for the utterance of them was sufficient to decide on our fate. The frigates approached each other, and the rigging became entangled. The Leoben, by a slight manœuvre, fell alongside us; and this shock was deadened by the carriages of the field-pieces fastened to her side, and which were broken. The cries of four hundred persons, with uplifted hands, made me believe for a moment that the Leoben was the victim of

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this first encounter. In endeavouring by a manœuvre to avoid or diminish the second, we perceived on our starboard the Artemise bearing down on us, in an opposite direction; and again, ahead of us, the prow of a ship of seventy-four guns, which we had perceived for the first time. Our terror was extreme: we were become a point at which every danger was at one and the same time concentrated. The Leoben, by another manœuvre, presented to us her bow; and her fore-yard fell on our deck. This accident, which might have been fatal to many of the crew, was advantageous to us. The seamen, and more particularly the Turks by whom we had been joined, surrounded the yard, and made such efforts to force it back, that the shock, which received no support from the wind, was deadened; and for this time we escaped at the expence of a hole made in our upper planks by the Leoben's anchor. The Artemise had passed under our stern; and the ship of the line had shot ahead; insomuch, that all these dangers, which had gathered about us like clouds in a storm, were still more speedily dissipated. Nothing remained but the anger of the officer of the watch, who would gladly have seen us all perish, sooner than not convince his Captain that he was in the right. We were indebted for our safety to the scantiness of the wind, and to the carriages of the field pieces, by which the first shock was deadened. Two merchantmen, in falling aboard each other, may do themselves some mischief, but are not likely to founder. With

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men of war it is different; it rarely happens that one or the other is not lost, and frequently both.

On the 20th, it was calm during the whole of the day; and we had to encounter the intense heat of the sun in such a season, in thirty-five degrees of latitude. In the course of the night a breeze sprang up: the order of sailing was changed.

On the 21st, the convoy was stationed ahead, the ships of the line in the rear, and the frigates to the left.

On the two following days we had fine weather, and a fair wind, which would have enabled us to reach the island of Candia, provided we had not had a convoy with us, for which we were obliged to wait every moment.

During the months of June, July, and August, the north and north-east winds are the trade winds of the Mediterranean; a circumstance which renders the navigation delightful in that season, in sailing to the south and to the west, but which, at the same time, makes the return very uncertain, it being necessary to enter on it during the inclement season.

On the 24th, we made forty-eight leagues with a breeze which bordered on a gale of wind. On the following morning, at eleven o'clock, our signal was made to go ahead and look out for land. At four in the afternoon we discovered the west part of the island of Candia. At the distance of twenty leagues I could distinguish mount Ida, the birth-place of Jupiter, and the country of almost

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all the gods. I had the greatest wish possible to visit the kingdom of Minos, and seek some remains of the labyrinth. What I had foreseen, however, happened: our favourable breeze prevented us from approaching the island.

On the 26th, at five in the morning, I found that we had steered in the direction of the eastern coast, without drawing towards it. The gale had been so strong during the night, that the whole of the convoy was dispersed. We spent all the morning in collecting the transports, and in shortening sail for their coming up. During this manœuvre, chance discovered to us, through a thick fog, the English fleet, which was six leagues distant from us, steering to the west, and proceeding in quest of us towards the northern coast.

On the evening of the 27th, our signal was made to pass under the stern of the Orient. It would be difficult to convey a precise idea of the sensations we felt on approaching this sanctuary of power, dictating its decrees amidst three hundred sail of vessels, in the still silence of the night. The moon afforded to this picture just as much light as was necessary to the enjoyment of it. Five hundred persons were on our deck; and the flapping of a bee's wings might have been heard: the very respiration was suspended. Our Captain was ordered to repair on board the flag-ship; and I cannot describe the joy I felt on his return, when he informed us that we were detached from the fleet, and were to proceed without delay to Alexandria, where

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we were to concert measures with our Consul, and to learn from him whether the inhabitants were apprised of our coming, and how they were disposed towards us. He added, that it was our destiny to land the first in Africa, there to collect together our countrymen, and to shelter them from the earliest movements of the inhabitants on the approach of the fleet. From that moment we set every sail we could carry, to accomplish, as speedily as possible, the sixty leagues we had still to run. The wind, however, fell during the night: for a few hours we had a gentle breeze; but, during the rest of the time, the way we made was entirely owing to the impulsion given to the sea, and to the currents, which carried us towards the point of our destination.

Our orders, after having warned our countrymen to be on their guard, were to return to the fleet, which was to cruise and to wait for us at the distance of six leagues from Cape Brulé. On the 28th at noon, we were within thirty leagues of Alexandria; and at four in the afternoon, our seamen at the mast-head cried out "*land.*" At six o'clock we saw it from the deck.

The breeze continued during the night; and on the 29th at day-break, I saw the coast to the west, stretching like a white ribband over the blue horizon of the sea. Not a tree, not a habitation was to be discovered: it was not merely nature in her saddest array, but the destruction of nature. It was silence and death. It did not, however, affect the gaiety

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of our seamen: one of them, pointing to the desert, said to his comrade, "*Look, there are the six acres which have been decreed you.*" The general burst of laughter which this pleasantry occasioned, may serve to shew that courage is disinterested, or at least that it springs from a nobler sentiment than that of interest.

This part of the coast is dangerous in stormy weather, and during the fogs of winter, when the low, flat land disappears, and is perceived only when it is too late to shun it. Our good fortune, however, allowed us to work in the direction of Cape Durazzo, which we sought by steering to the east a quarter south.

Ten leagues from the Cape, and five from Alexandria, we saw a ruin which is named the Arabian tower. It appeared to me to be a bastioned square, at some distance from which there is a round tower. I could have wished to have been able to distinguish the details better, so as to have judged whether it is an Arabian building, or of antique construction, and to what date of antiquity it belongs; whether it is the Taposiris of the ancients, which Procopius describes as the tomb of Osiris, or the Chersonesus of Strabo; or, lastly, Plinthine, from whence the gulf derived its name. Since that time the garrison of Alexandria has detached reconnoitering parties to this post. The reports of these parties having, however, been entirely confined to their military operations, I have not been able to collect any information relative to the origin of

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these ruins; and the enquiries I have made, have merely tended to augment the curiosity with which their bulk and extent have inspired me. In general, the whole of this western coast, comprehending the great and small shoals of Cyrenaica, formerly well inhabited, and containing republics and other forms of government, is at this time one of the most neglected countries in the universe, and is brought to our recollection by the fine medals alone with which it has supplied us.

To the right and left of us our promised land appeared still more steril than that of the Jews. It is true, that thus far it had not cost us so dear; that, if it had not rained on us quails ready roasted, our manna was not corrupted; that we had not been tormented by raging colics; and that we had, notwithstanding, preserved all that had fallen to the share of the children of Israel. The Bedouin Arabs, however, who are dispersed over this country, might have inflicted on us sufferings equal to their's, and have been equally disastrous to us. It is, notwithstanding, said, that, during the last twenty years, they have been true to their engagement entered into with the factory of Alexandria, by which, after exacting certain duties, they restore those who have been shipwrecked, at the rate of twenty dollars per head, instead of killing them, as was formerly their custom.

At one o'clock a lieutenant was sent on shore. He had scarcely stepped into the boat when we

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looked for his return, and counted the minutes as they passed.

By the help of our glasses we saw the tri-colour flag displayed over our Consul's house. I figured to myself the surprise he was about to feel, and that which we were preparing against the following day for the Sheik of Alexandria.

When the shadows of the evening delineated the outline of the city; when I could distinguish on our approach the two ports; the thick walls, flanked by a great number of towers, which at present contain nothing but hillocks of sand, and a few gardens, in which the pale green hue of the palm-trees scarcely tempers the burning whiteness of the soil; the Turkish fortress, the mosques, their minarets or towers, and the celebrated pillar of Pompey, my imagination recurred to past ages. I saw art triumph over nature, and the genius of Alexander employ the active medium of commerce, to lay on a barren soil the foundations of a superb city, which he selected to be the depositary of the trophies of the conquest of the universe. I saw the Ptolomies invite thither the arts and sciences, and form the library, to destroy which the hand of barbarism was several years employed. It is there, said I to myself, reflecting on Cleopatra, Cæsar, and Antony, that the empire of glory yielded to the empire of voluptuousness. I next figured to myself stern ignorance fixing its seat on the ruins of the masterpieces of the arts, completing their destruction, but unable, notwithstanding, to disfigure utterly the

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fine characteristics by which they are stamped, and which belong to the grand principles of their original plans. From this pre-occupation, from this happiness of meditating in view of great objects, I was roused by a gun fired from our frigate, to bring too a vessel which had set all her sails to get into the port of Alexandria in spite of us, and without doubt to carry thither the tidings of the arrival of the fleet. The night coming on, we soon lost sight of her. Our uneasiness respecting the boat increased every moment, and was converted into terror. At midnight we heard the voices of persons terrified; and soon after our Consul and his interpreter, who had escaped from the avenging sabre of the Mussulman, and from the terror spread through the country, came on board. They informed us that an English fleet of fourteen ships of the line had quitted its anchorage off Alexandria the evening before; and that the English had declared they were in quest of us, to bring us to action. They had been taken for French; and the inhabitants of the country, already apprized of our projects, and of the taking of Malta, had instantly resorted to arms. The strong holds had been fortified, the militia incorporated with the regular troops, and an army of Bedouins collected. The latter are wandering Arabs, against whom the inhabitants wage war, but with whom they unite whenever a common enemy is to be encountered.

Our horizon was obscured by the presence of the English. When I recollected that only three

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days before we felt a regret at being detained by the calms, and that unless for them we should have fallen into the midst of the enemy's fleet, to which we must have made a discovery of our own, I from that moment became a fatalist, and commended myself to the star of Bonaparte.

The Sheik had consented to the departure of the Consul, on no other condition than that he should be accompanied by several seamen belonging to Alexandria, by whom he was to be conveyed back. They spoke the *lingua-franca*, and understood Italian. I conversed with them; and they added to what the Consul had told us, that the English had steered to the east to seek us at Cyprus, where they thought we had stopped.

We made sail in quest of our fleet, and at day-break discovered the first division of the convoy. At seven o'clock we were within hail of the Orient.

It fell to my lot to accompany the Consul on board the flag-ship. We were to communicate to the General whatever might interest him most powerfully under such critical circumstances. The English had been seen; and they might come up with us every moment. It blew a fresh gale; and the convoy was blended with the fleet in such confusion, that the most terrible defeat would have ensued had the enemy appeared. I watched the General's countenance, which did not change in the slightest degree. He made me repeat the statement he had just heard; and after a silence of a few minutes, ordered the troops to be landed.

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The dispositions which were made, were to bring the convoy as near the land as the danger of getting aground, at a time when the wind blew so strong, would allow. The men of war formed a circle of defence on the outside; the sails were taken in, and the anchors let go. These arrangements were scarcely made, when we received orders to cruise off the port, as near as the wind would permit us, and to make false attacks by way of diversion.

The breeze still freshened, and the sea was so rough, that we endeavoured ineffectually, during the remainder of the day, to get up our anchor. At night it was too stormy to attempt this without a risk of our carrying away our masts, and of running foul of and sinking the boats with troops on board, which effected their landing with unprecedented difficulty and danger. The launches received one by one, and at random, those who came down the sides of the vessels. When they were filled, the waves threatened every moment to sink them, at the same time that, driven by the wind, they in many instances encountered, and fell on board of each other. After having escaped these dangers, when they drew within shore they knew not how to make their landing good without being dashed to pieces by the breakers. During the night, a launch filled with troops, which had lost all steerage-way, came under our stern, and asked for assistance. The danger to which those who were on board her were exposed, caused

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in me an emotion which was augmented by my fancying that I knew the voices of all those who cried for help. We threw out a rope to these poor wretches; but scarcely had they laid hold of it, when it became necessary to cut it, the waves dashing the launch against the side of our vessel, which it threatened to stave in. The cries of these unfortunate men, when they found themselves abandoned to their fate, pierced to the inmost recesses of our souls; and the silence which succeeded filled us with the most melancholy reflections. Our terror was augmented by the darkness; and the operations for landing were as slow as they were disastrous. However, by six o'clock the next morning, the first of July, a sufficient number of troops were landed to attack and carry a small fort, called Le Marabou. There the tri-colour military flag was hoisted for the first time in Africa.

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CHAPTER III.

Storming of Alexandria....General aspect of the town gloomy and deserted....Troublesomeness of the dogs ....Speech of Bonaparte to the Sheik of Alexandria ....Pompey's pillar....Gardens....Cleopatra's needle ....Principal mosque, and other remarkable buildings.

On the 2d the sea was less ruffled. We got under way, and perceived that the beach was filled with our soldiers. By noon they were under the walls of Alexandria, the centre being stationed at Pompey's pillar, behind some small hillocks formed by the ruins of the ancient city. The old walls presented to the valour of our soldiery a succession of breaches. As soon as one of the columns was in motion, the others drew up in battle array, marched, and attacked at the same time. In approaching some old ditches, they discovered more walls than they had been able to see at a first view. A very heavy fire kept up by the besieged, surprised our troops for a moment, but did not check their impetuosity. The most practicable approach was sought under the fire of the enemy: it was found at the west angle, where was situated the ancient port of Kibotos. Our troops stormed; Kleber, Menou, and Lescale were wounded by the enemy's fire, and by the fall of the fragments of

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walls. Koraim, Sheik of Alexandria, who was in every part of the battle, mistook Menou for the commander-in-chief mortally wounded. In this way the courage of the besieged was supported for a short time. Our adversaries maintained their ground; and we were under the necessity of putting the whole of them to death at the breach, where two hundred of our soldiers fell.

Our frigate was ordered to protect the entry of the convoy into the old port; and I availed myself of this opportunity to go on shore. An old prophecy had said, that as soon as a French vessel should enter the old port, Alexandria would cease to be in possession of the Mussulmans. Our boat verified this prediction for the moment.

It would be impossible for me to describe what I felt on landing at Alexandria, where there was no one to receive us, or to prevent our going on shore. We could scarcely prevail on a group of beggars, leaning on their crutches, to point out to us the head-quarters. All the houses were shut: those who had not dared to fight had fled; and those who had not been killed in the combat, had concealed themselves, for fear of being put to death, according to the oriental custom. Every thing was new to our sensations; the soil, the form of the buildings, the persons, customs, and language of the inhabitants. The first prospect which presented itself to our view, was an extensive burying-ground, covered with innumerable tomb-stones of white marble, on a white soil. Among these monu-

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ments were seen wandering several meagre women, with long tattered garments, resembling so many ghosts. The silence was only interrupted by the screeching of the kites which hovered over this sanctuary of death. We passed from thence into narrow and deserted streets. In crossing Alexandria, the description which Volney has given of that city was brought to my remembrance; form, colour, and sensation, every thing, in short, is represented by him with such a degree of truth, that, on looking over his work some months after, I fancied that I was entering Alexandria once more. Had Volney described all Egypt in the same way, no one would ever have thought it necessary to undertake any other description, or to make any new drawings of that country.

During the whole of my progress through this long and melancholy city, Europe and its gaiety were brought to my recollection only by the chirping and activity of the sparrows. I could not recognize the dog, the friend of man, the faithful and generous companion, the gay and loyal courtier. Here this animal is a dull and selfish brute, a stranger to the master beneath whose roof he dwells, and, separated from the inmates without ceasing to be a slave, loses sight of him whose assylum he defends, and on whose bleeding carcase he feeds without abhorrence. The following anecdote will fully pourtray his character.

On the day of my landing, having neglected to bring ashore linen to shift myself, I was desirous

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to go on board the Junon frigate, which I thought was stationed off the entrance of the harbour. I hired a small Turkish bark, and we steered towards that point. Having reached the frigate, we found that it was not the Junon; and another was pointed out to us in the road at half a league's distance. The sun was setting: I had already made two-thirds of my way; and it was still possible to sleep on board. We now sailed towards the frigate in the road, which was still not the Junon; she was cruising in the offing: we were, therefore, under the necessity of returning; but the breeze had freshened, and the swell was so great, that it was with difficulty we could descry the land towards which we had to bend our course. My conductor gave me charge of the tiller, to bestow his whole attention on the sail.

It was not easy for me to find the direction in which I was to steer; and I now began to feel that it was in a manner devoting one's self to destruction, to be at such a time of night at the mercy of the winds, on a rough sea, and without any other companion than one who, in common with all his countrymen, had every reason to hate the French, and to seek to avenge himself on any of that nation who might fall in his way. I put on a confidential air, and even affected to be gay: we at length reached the shore, the object of all my hopes and wishes; it was, however, eleven o'clock at night. I was half a league from the head-quarters; and I had to cross a city which had been

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taken by storm in the morning, with not one of the streets of which I was acquainted. I could not prevail on my boatman, by any offer of recompence, to leave his bark and accompany me. I set out alone, and, defying the ghosts of the dead, crossed the burying-ground, the road with which I was most familiar. As soon as I had reached the nearest habitations of the living, I was assailed by multitudes of ferocious curs, which attacked me from the doors, the streets, and the house-tops. Their yelping was continued from house to house, and from family to family. I could perceive, however, that the war which they waged against me was not a war of *coalition*, for as soon as I had passed the property of those by which I had been attacked, they were driven back by those which came to receive me at the frontiers. Not knowing the abject state in which they live, I dared not strike them, from an apprehension of their howling, and thus kindling up the wrath of their masters against me. The darkness was diminished by the light of the stars only, and by the transparency which the night always has in this climate. To profit by this small portion of light, and to escape from the yelping of the curs, and take a road which could not lead me astray, I quitted the streets, and resolved to walk along the beach. My passage was, however, barred by the walls and timber-yards, which extended to the sea-shore. At length, after wading through the sea to shun the curs, and scaling the walls to avoid the sea when there was too great a depth,

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wet, covered with perspiration, and exhausted by terror and fatigue, I reached one of our out-posts at midnight, fully persuaded that curs are the sixth, and the most dreadful of the plagues of Egypt.

In the morning, on arriving at the head-quarters, I found Bonaparte surrounded by the grandees of the city, and by the members of the old government, from whom he received the oath of fidelity. He addressed himself in the following terms to the Sheik Koraim: "I have taken you in arms, and I might treat you as a prisoner: as you have, however, behaved with courage, and as I think bravery inseparable from honour, I give you back your arms, and I think that you will be as faithful to the republic as you have been to a bad government." I could distinguish in the countenance of this able, enterprizing man, a dissimulation, shaken, but not subdued, by the generous conduct of the commander-in-chief. He was not, as yet, acquainted with our resources, and entertained some doubt whether what had passed was not owing to a *coup-de-main!* But when he saw thirty thousand men, and the heavy ordnance and field-pieces landed, he endeavoured to captivate the good graces of Bonaparte, was never absent from head-quarters, and was in the anti-chamber before the commander-in-chief was out of bed, a circumstance very remarkable in a Mussulman. (See his portrait, Plate IX. Fig. 2.)

The first drawing I made was a view of the new port, from the small sand-bank to the quarter of

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the Francs, which, in Cleopatra's time, was the delightful spot on which her palace was built, and where the theatre stood.

On the 4th, in the morning, I accompanied the commander-in-chief, who visited the forts, that is to say, a collection of clumsy buildings in a ruinous state, in which worn-out guns rested on stones that served them for carriages. The General's orders were to demolish whatever was unserviceable, and to repair only what might be useful, to prevent the approach of the Bedouins. He paid particular attention to the batteries for the defence of the harbours.

We passed near Pompey's pillar. This monument is in the predicament of almost every thing famous, which loses on a near scrutiny. It was named Pompey's pillar in the fifteenth century, when learning began to recover itself from the torpid state in which it had so long languished. At that epoch, men of science, but not observers, bestowed names on all the monuments; and these names have been handed down by tradition, and without being disputed, from century to century. A monument had been raised to Pompey at Alexandria: it had disappeared, and was thought to be recovered in this pillar or column, which has since been converted into a trophy erected to the memory of Septimius Severus. It is, however, placed on the ruins of the ancient city; and in the time of Septimius Severus, the city of the Ptolomies was not in a ruinous state. To support this column by

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a solid foundation, an obelisk has been sunk in the earth, on which is placed a very clumsey pedestal, having a fine shaft, and surmounted by a corinthian capital of bad workmanship.

If the shaft of this column, separating it from the pedestal and the capital, once belonged to an ancient edifice, it is an evidence of its magnificence, and of the skill with which it was executed. It ought therefore to be said, that what is called Pompey's pillar, is a fine column, and not a fine monument; and that a column is not a monument. It should be said, that the column of St. Maria Maggiore, notwithstanding it is one of the finest in existence, has not the character of a monument; that it is merely a fragment; and that, if the columns of Trajan and Antoninus are not in the same predicament, it is because they appear as colossal cylinders, on which the history of the glorious expeditions of these two emperors is pompously displayed, and which, if reduced to their simple form and dimensions, would be nothing more than dull and heavy monuments.

The earth about the foundations of Pompey's pillar having been cleared away by time, two fragments of an obelisk of white marble, the only monument of that substance which I have seen in Egypt, have been added to the original base, to render it more solid.

Excavations made round the circumference of this column, would, no doubt, afford some information relative to its origin. The shaking of the

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earth, and the form it takes on treading on it, seem to attest that these researches would not be fruitless. They would perhaps discover the base and *atrium* of the portico to which this column belonged, which has been the subject of dissertations made by literati who have seen the drawings only, or whose information has been limited to the descriptions of travellers. These travellers have neglected to apprize them, that fragments of columns of the same substance and diameter are found in the vicinity; and that the shaking of the earth indicates the destruction of great edifices buried beneath, the forms of which may be distinguished on the surface, such as a square of a considerable size, and a large circus, the principal dimensions of which may be measured, notwithstanding it is covered with sand and ruins.

After having observed that the column, entitled *Pompey's pillar*, is very chaste both in style and execution; that the pedestal and capital are not formed of the same granite as the shaft; that their workmanship is heavy, and appears to be merely a rough draught; and that the foundations, made up of fragments, indicate a modern construction; it may be concluded, that this monument is not antique, and that it may have been erected either in the time of the Greek Emperors or of the Califs; since, if the capital and pedestal are well enough wrought to belong to the former of these periods, they are not so perfect but that art may have reached so far in the latter.

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Subterraneous researches made on this spot might also ascertain the site of the city in the time of the Ptolomies, when its commerce and splendour changed its original plan, and rendered it immense. That of the Califs, which still exists, was but a diminution of the ancient city, notwithstanding it comprehends within itself, at this time, plains and deserts. This circumvallation being built of ruins, the edifices bring unceasingly to the remembrance destruction and ravage. The jambs and lintels of the doors of the dwelling-houses and fortresses consist entirely of columns of granite, which the workmen have not taken the pains to shape to the use to which they have applied them. They appear to have been left there merely with a view to attest the grandeur and magnificence of the buildings, the ruins of which they are. In other places a great number of columns have been applied to the construction of the walls, to support and level them; and these columns, having resisted the ravages of time, now resemble batteries. In short, these Arabian and Turkish buildings, the productions of the necessities of war, display a confusion of epochs, and of various industries, more striking and more approximated examples of which are no where else to be found. The Turks, more especially, adding absurdity to profanation, have not only blended with the granite, bricks and calcareous stones, but even logs and planks; and from these different elements, which have so little analogy to each other, and are so strangely united, have presented a mon-

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strous assemblage of the splendour of human industry, and its degradation.

In returning from Pompey's pillar to the modern city, we passed through that of the Arabs, or rather the one which was incompassed by their walls, for at this time it is merely a desert containing a few enclosures, which, during the months of the inundation, are gardens, and which at other times afford nourishment to a greater or smaller number of trees and vegetables, in proportion to the size of the cistern with which each is provided. This cistern is the source and principle of their existence: when it fails, the gardens are once more converted into sand and rubbish.

At the gate of each of these gardens are to be seen monuments of a benevolent and charitable feeling. These are reservoirs into which water is pumped as often as it is necessary, and which present to the way-worn traveller what is needful to satisfy his most pressing want in this burning climate....thirst.

The conduits of the cisterns are to be seen everywhere, communicating with each other, and having their orifices covered by the base or capital of an ancient column, hollowed out in the centre, and answering the purpose of the stone which surrounds the mouth of a well.

For the construction of a new cistern, it is sufficient to dig and bank in reservoirs of different depths, and afterwards to cut a drain, carrying it on until it meets with another excavation. In this

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way it receives the common benefits of the inundation, which, by the level that the water seeks, fills the whole of the vacuum presented to it. The great pool or conservatory of water at Alexandria, is one of the principal antiquities of the middle age of Egypt, and one of the finest monuments of that description, whether its size be considered, or the intelligence, which its construction displays. Notwithstanding one part of it is in a very ruinous state, and the other in need of repairs, it contains a quantity of water which suffices for the consumption of men and animals during two years. We arrived at Alexandria in the month preceding that in which the water was to be renewed, and we found it very good and sweet.

Our attention was attracted by a ruin of a reddish hue, which the Catholics call the house of St. Catharine the learned, relative to whom they have a tradition, that she was wedded to Jesus Christ four centuries after his death. This ruin is of Roman construction; and the conduits, covered by stalactites, imply that it was formerly a bath.

We came afterwards to the obelisk, named Cleopatra's needle: another obelisk thrown down at its side, indicates that both of them formerly decorated one of the entrances of the palace of the Ptolomies, the ruins of which are still to be seen at some distance from thence. An inspection into the present state of these obelisks, and the fissures which existed at the time even when they were fixed on this spot, prove that they were merely fragments at

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that period, and that they had been brought from Memphis, or from upper Egypt. They might be conveyed to France without difficulty, and would there become a trophy of conquest, and a very characteristic one, as they are in themselves a monument, and as the hieroglyphics with which they are covered render them preferable to Pompey's pillar, which is merely a column, somewhat larger, indeed, than is every where to be found. On digging since round the base of this obelisk, it has been found that it was placed on a tablet of hard stone. The pedestals which have always been added in Europe to this species of monument, are an ornament by which its character is changed.

On examining the Saracen monument in the vicinity of Cleopatra's needle, I found that its foundation belonged to a Greek or Roman edifice. The capitals of connected columns, of the doric order, the shafts of which are sunk below the level of the sea, are still to be seen. Strabo has observed, that the base of the palace of Ptolomy was washed by the sea. These ruins may at one and the same time prove the veracity of Strabo's relation, and ascertain the site of that palace.

In returning to the lower part of the harbour by the sea-shore, ruins of edifices of different ages are to be found, having suffered alike from time and from the waves. Vestiges of baths are to be distinguished there, several apartments of which still exist, having been posteriorly fabricated in walls of more remote antiquity. These edifices appeared

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to me to be of Arabic construction; and for their preservation, a kind of pile work in columns has been made, which has now the resemblance of floating batteries. Their immense number evinces the magnificence of the palaces they once decorated. After having passed the extremity of the harbour, large Saracen edifices are met with, having an air of grandeur, and a mixture of style, by which the observer is perplexed. Friezes ornamented with doric triglyphs, and surmounted by arched vaults, would lead one to imagine that these edifices were constructed from antique fragments, which the Saracens blended to adapt them to the style of their architecture. The doors of these edifices may give an idea of the indestructible quality of the sycamore wood, which has remained unaltered, while the iron work of the doors has yielded to time, and entirely disappeared. Behind this kind of fortress, are Arabian baths, most magnificently decorated. Our soldiers, who found them ready heated, had taken possession of them to wash their linen, so that no other use could then be made of them. I shall, therefore, defer my description of this kind of baths to another opportunity, and refer my readers, who wish to have an idea of the pleasure which they communicate, to the one which Savary has given.

Near these baths, one of the principal mosques, formerly a primitive church, entitled St. Athanasius, is situated. This edifice, in as ruinous a state as its style is magnificent, may give some idea

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of the carelessness of the Turks relative to the objects of which they are the most jealous. Before our arrival, they did not suffer a Christian to approach this building, and chose rather to place a centinel over it than to repair the doors, which, in the state in which we found them, would neither shut nor turn on their hinges.

In the middle of the court-yard of this mosque is a small octagonal temple, which contains a bowl of Egyptian black marble, with white and yellow spots, of incomparable beauty, both on account of the substance of which it is formed, and of the innumerable hieroglyphical figures with which it is covered, both withinside and without. This monument, which is, without doubt, a sarcophagus of ancient Egypt, will, perhaps, be hereafter illustrated by volumes of dissertations. It may be considered as a very valuable antique, and as one of our most precious spoils in Egypt, with which it is to be wished that our national museum may be enriched. Dolomieu, who was with me when this valuable monument was discovered, partook of my enthusiasm.

From the galleries of the minaret or tower of this mosque, I made the drawing, which contains a bird's-eye view of every part of the new harbour. Close to the mosque are three upright columns, which have not been noticed by any traveller. It would appear by the delicate workmanship of these columns, that they constituted a part of some antique monuments; it would, therefore, be inter-

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esting to dig round their bases. The wide space, however, which they occupy, would lead to a conjecture, that they are not stationed where they were originally intended to be placed. Be this as it may, they are the remains of a large and magnificent edifice.

We proceeded from thence to the gate of Rosetta, which is fortified, and at which the Turks defended themselves on our arrival. Here a group of houses forms a kind of town, which leaves an unoccupied space of half a league between this part of the city and that which is in the vicinity of the ports. All the horrors of war still existed in this quarter, where I met with an incident which afforded me the strongest contrast possible. A young woman, fair and with a ruddy complexion, was seated, surrounded by the dead and by the rubbish, on a fragment of a ruin still covered with blood. She was the picture of the angel of the resurrection. When, attracted by a compassionate feeling, I testified my surprise at finding her in this forlorn state, she told me, with a charming ingenuousness, that she was waiting for her husband, with whom she was going to pass the night in the desert. To her this was no difficulty: she was about to repair thither to sleep with as little reluctance as if a down bed was to be her portion. From this anecdote some idea may be formed of the lot which awaited the women whom love had inspired with the courage to follow their husbands on this expedition.

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The greater part of the divisions, after they were landed, had merely passed through Alexandria to encamp in the desert. I was also under the necessity of quitting this city, a place of great importance in history, where the monuments of every epoch, and the wrecks of the arts of so many nations, are heaped together confusedly; and where the ravages of wars, ages, and of a humid climate, impregnated with sea-salt, have been productive of greater changes, and have wrought more mischief than in any other part of Egypt.

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CHAPTER IV.

March from Alexandria to the interior of the country....Pass Beda....Affecting incident and fatal effects of jealousy....The march much harrassed by the Arabs....Optical deception in the desert, giving the appearance of water....Reach the Nile at Rahmanieh....First encounter with the Mamelukes under Murad-bey....The author's voyage from Alexandria to Rosetta....Description of the latter place ....Character of the cultivating Arab, contrasted with the Bedouin....Battle of Salmie....Mameluke feast and entertainment.

BONAPARTE, who had obtained possession of Alexandria with the same rapidity with which St. Louis had taken Damietta, was not guilty of the same blunder. Without giving the enemy time to rally, and without affording his troops an opportunity to view the penury of Alexandria and its barren territory, he marched off the divisions in proportion as they landed, and without allowing them time to collect any information relative to the places which they were going to occupy. Among others, an officer, on the eve of his departure, said to his detachment, "My friends, you are to sleep at Beda to-night: you understand; at Beda. This is all the difficulty you will have to encounter: let us march, my friends:" and the soldiers marched. It would

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certainly be difficult to cite a more striking trait of ingenuousness on the one hand, and of confidence on the other. It is with this heedless courage that enterprizes are undertaken by some, which others would not have dared to project; and that what appears inconceivable is executed. They reached Beda, which they fancied to be a village built and peopled like our's, more inquisitive to look about them, than surprized. They could there find nothing but a well choaked up by stones, between the interstices of which a little brackish, muddy water was found. This water was collected in goblets, and a small quantity of it distributed to them, as if it had been brandy. This was the first halt made by a part of our troops, in another quarter of the globe, separated from their country by seas covered with enemies, and by deserts a thousand times more formidable still. Their forlorn situation, however, neither abated their courage, nor diminished their gaiety.

If my reader be desirous to appreciate the domestic slavery of the eastern nations, and is prepared to shudder at the atrociousness of jealousy, when it is supported by a received prejudice, and when its transports are absolved by religion, let him read the following anecdote:

On the second day's march of our troops, after their departure from Alexandria, some of the soldiers, in passing near Beda, in the desert, met with a young woman whose face was covered with blood. In one of her arms she held an infant, and extend-

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ed the other in search of an object which might either inflict vengeance on her, or serve her for a guide. Their curiosity being excited, they called for their conductor, who was at the same time their interpreter; and, on approaching, heard the sobs of this wretched female, whom cruelty had deprived of her sight. Astonished at seeing her in this sad condition, and accompanied by an infant, in the midst of a desert, they questioned her, and learned that the shocking spectacle which they had in view, was the effect and result of a fit of jealousy. The victim did not dare to murmur, but offered up prayers for the innocent babe which partook of her misfortunes, and which was about to perish through misery and want. Our soldiers, moved by pity, instantly gave her a part of their rations, and lost sight of their own necessities, on contemplating others, which were still more urgent. They had just deprived themselves of their small portion of water which was extremely scarce, and which they were about to be absolutely in need of, when they saw a madman approach, who, feasting his sight on the spectacle of his revenge, kept his victims constantly in view. He snatched from the woman the bread and water she held in her hands, the last sources of existence which compassion had just granted to misery. "Forbear!" he exclaimed: "she has forfeited her own honour, and has tarnished mine. That infant is my opprobrium; it is the offspring of guilt." Our soldiers endeavoured to resist his depriving the female of the succours

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they had just afforded her; when his jealousy was inflamed, because the object of his fury was also become an object of pity. He drew a poinard, with which he gave his wife a mortal stab; and, seizing the infant, held it in the air, and dashed it lifeless on the ground. Then, with an air of ferocious stupidity, he stood motionless, looking steadfastly at those who surrounded him, and braving their vengeance.

I enquired whether there were any laws to repress so atrocious an abuse of authority. I was told, that this man had *done wrong* to stab his wife, because, if God had vouchsafed to spare her life, this wretched creature might, at the expiration of forty days, have been received into a house, and kept on charity.

General Kleber's division, under the command of General Dugua, had marched towards Rosetta, to cover the flotilla which had entered the Nile. On the 5th and 6th of July, the army was in full march by Birket and Demenhur, the Arabs attacking the advance-guard, and harassing the main body, insomuch, that death was the portion of the straggler. Desaix was on the point of being made prisoner, in consequence of his having remained fifty paces in the rear of the column. Le Mireur, an officer of distinguished reputation, and who, in consequence of a momentary absence, had neglected to comply with the request made to him to come up, was assassinated within a hundred paces of the advance-guard. Adjutant-General Galois was kill-

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ed in carrying an order to the commander-in-chief; and Adjutant Delanau made prisoner at a very small distance from the army, in crossing a ditch. A price being demanded for his ransom, the Arabs disputed the booty among themselves, and, to terminate the dispute, blew out the brains of this interesting young man.

The Mamelukes, who had come out to meet the French army, were seen for the first time in the vicinity of Demenhur. They did nothing more than reconnoitre; and their appearance on this occasion, together with the insignificant battle of Chebreissa, had enabled our soldiers to form a judgment of them, and had removed that uncertain emotion, bordering on terror, which is constantly inspired by an unknown enemy. On their side, having observed that our army was entirely composed of infantry, a description of soldiery for whom they have a sovereign contempt, they made themselves certain of an easy victory, and forbore to harass our march, which was rendered sufficiently painful by its length, by the heat of the climate, and by the sufferings of hunger and thirst; to which may be added, the torments of a hope constantly cheated, and constantly renewed. In reality, it was in the midst of heaps of corn that our soldiers wanted bread; while they were a prey to thirst, with the image of a vast lake before their eyes. This punishment, of a new description, requires explanation, as it results from an illusion peculiar to this country. It is produced by the reflection of

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salient objects on the oblique rays of the sun, refracted by the heat of the burning soil; and this phenomenon has so truly the appearance of water, that the observer is deceived by it over and over again. It provokes a thirst, which is the more importunate, as the instant when it presents itself to the view is the hottest time of the day. It appears to me, that an idea of it could not be conveyed by a drawing, which would be merely the representation of a resemblance. To supply this defect, however, it is only necessary to read a report made to the Institute of Cairo, and published by the elder Didot, in which Monge has described and analyzed this phenomenon, with that erudition and sagacity by which that philosopher is characterized.*

On the approach of the army the villages were abandoned, the inhabitants carrying off with them whatever might have been useful to the subsistence of our troops.

Pistachio-nuts were the first relief which the soil of Egypt afforded to the soldiery; and of this fruit they never ceased to retain a grateful remembrance. On reaching the Nile, they plunged into that river without waiting to undress themselves, to allay their thirst by the action of the absorbent vessels.

When the army had passed Rahmanieh, its progress on the banks of the river became less difficult. I shall not follow it to all the stations it occupied, but shall content myself with observing,

* See, in the Memoirs of the Institute at Cairo, a paper by this ingenious author on this optical phenomenon, which is called *mirage*. Tr.

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that on the 19th of July it was encamped at Amm-el-Dinar, from whence it set out on the following morning, before day-break; and that, after a march of twelve hours, it reached the vicinity of Embabey, where the Mamelukes had collected their force, having an entrenched camp, surrounded by a clumsy moat, and defended by twenty-eight pieces of artillery. As soon as the enemy was discovered, the army formed; and when Bonaparte had given his final orders, he said to the soldiers, pointing to the pyramid: "Push on, and recollect that from the summit of those monuments forty centuries watch over us." Desaix, who commanded the advance-guard, proceeded to the other side of the village; Regnier followed to the left; and Generals Dugua, Vial, and Bon, also to the left, formed a half circle by approaching the Nile. Murad-bey, by whom we were reconnoitred, and who could not perceive any cavalry, threatened to cut us up like *gourds:* (this was his expression.) In consequence of this determination on his side, the most considerable body of the Mamelukes, which was in front of Embabey, moved and charged Dugua's division with so much impetuosity, that he had scarcely time to draw up his men. They received the enemy with a discharge of musquetry, by which they were stopped; and, by a want of address on their part, were on the point of falling on the bayonets of Desaix's division. A fire by files, well kept up, was productive of a second surprise: the enemy hesitated for a moment, and then,

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endeavouring suddenly to turn the division, passed between those of Reynier and Desaix, receiving the cross fire of both. In this way the discomfiture of this body of Mamelukes commenced. Having no further project, a part of them returned to Embabey, while another part entrenched themselves in a park planted with palm-trees, to the west of the two divisions, from whence they were dislodged by our riflemen. They now took the road of the desert of the pyramids; and it was afterwards by these Mamelukes that our passage into upper Egypt was disputed. During this time, the other divisions, on approaching the village, found themselves exposed to the fire of the guns in the entrenched camp, an attack on which was decided on. Two battalions were formed, drawn from the divisions of Generals Bon and Menou, and commanded by Generals Rampon and Marmont, which were to proceed to the village, and turn the camp by the help of the moat. It appeared to the Mamelukes a matter of no great difficulty to surround and destroy Rampon's battalion, which was attacked by the whole of those that remained in the camp. On this occasion, the best directed, and most destructive fire was kept up by our troops; the Mamelukes, when they made a pretext of seeking our alliance, afterwards told us, that they had no conception of our resistance. In reality, the best cavalry in the east, perhaps in the whole world, was routed at the bayonet's point by a small body of infantry. Some of them had their clothes set on

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fire by our discharges of musquetry, and, having been mortally wounded, were burnt in front of our ranks. The defeat became general; they attempted to return to their camp, whither our soldiers followed them, and entered pell-mell with the enemy. Their guns fell into our hands; and our divisions, on coming up, surrounded the village, and thus deprived them of that hope of retreat. In endeavouring to proceed along the banks of the Nile, a transverse wall obstructed their progress, and drove them back. They now threw themselves into the river to join the army of Ibrahim-Bey, which was stationed on the opposite side, to cover Cairo. From that moment it was no longer a combat, but a massacre. The enemy appeared to defile for the purpose of being shot, and to escape from the fire of our battalions to become a prey to the waves. In the midst of this carnage, the sublime contrast, which, on looking upwards, was afforded by the clear sky of this fine climate, was very striking. A handful of French, led by a hero, had just subdued a quarter of the globe: an empire had just changed its ruler; and the pride of the Mamelukes had been completely humbled by the bayonets of our infantry. During this great and terrible scene, the result of which was to become so important, the dust and smoke scarcely obscured the lower part of the atmosphere. The morning star, revolving over a spacious horizon, peaceably terminated its career.... a sublime testimony of that immutable order of na-

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ture, which obeys the decrees of the Eternal in the calm stillness that renders it still more awful.

General Menou had, in consequence of his wounds, remained behind at Alexandria, from whence he was to proceed to Rosetta, to regulate the government, and afterwards to make an excursion in the Delta. Prior to his setting out for Cairo, he had prevailed on me to accompany him on this excursion, to which I consented the more readily, from a persuasion that it would be more interesting, if undertaken previously to my visit to upper Egypt. In addition to this consideration, I was very glad to accompany an amiable and well-informed man, with whom I had been several years intimate.

We embarked on board an advice-boat, in the new harbour of Alexandria, and spent the whole of the day in endeavouring to work out. Our pilot, who was unacquainted with the currents, breakers, and shoals of this harbour, after having with some difficulty steered clear of Diamond-point, nearly ran us on the ledge of the small sand-bank, and brought us to anchor for the night off the mouth of the harbour. I made a drawing of the fortress constructed in the island of Pharos, on the site of that celebrated monument, equally useful and magnificent, of that wonder of the world, which, after having taken the name of the island on which it was placed, has transmitted that appellation to all the monuments of the same description.

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On our setting out the next morning, fate was equally unpropitious to us. Scarcely were we a few leagues out at sea, when a gale of wind came on, in consequence of which General Menou was seized with a convulsive fit of vomiting, which occasioned him to fall, his head striking against the breech of a gun. He was insensible; and, as we were not able to judge of the danger which might result from a large wound he had received, we had some notion of conveying him to the Orient, which was riding at anchor with the fleet off Abou-kir, opposite to which place we were at the moment.

Our seamen being, however, of opinion, that in a few hours we might reach the Nile, we embraced this latter plan, as the one which would the soonest terminate the General's sufferings from sea-sickness. A few hours after, we found ourselves, without knowing it, at one of the mouths of the Nile, which we recognized by the most dreadful picture I have ever seen. The water of the Nile, repelled by the wind, raised to an immense height the waves, which were perpetually forced back and broken, with a frightful noise, by the current of the river. One of our vessels, which had just been driven on shore, and which the waves were dashing in pieces, was the only mark which we had of the coast. Several other advice-boats were in the same situation with ourselves, that is to say, in the same perplexity approaching each other to hold a consultation, then sheering off to avoid falling on board and foundering, and unable to hold any intercourse except by loud

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shouts. We were without a coasting pilot, and were quite at a loss what course to take. In the mean time the General grew worse and worse; and we resolved to reconnoitre the bar of the river, for which purpose the boat was hoisted out, and Bonnecarerre, a chief of battalion, and myself, jumped into it in the best way we could. We had scarcely quitted our vessel, when we found ourselves in the midst of an abyss, without being able to distinguish any other object, except the curved tops of the waves, which threatened on every side to swallow us up. At the distance of a third of a league from the advice-boat, we made useless efforts to draw near to her; I began to feel the effects of sea-sickness, and we were obliged to make up our minds to pass the night in the boat. I had just wrapped myself up in my cloak, to be no longer a witness of our deplorable situation, when we passed in the wake of a felucca, from the side of which I perceived a poor wretch, who had fallen overboard in endeavouring to get into a boat, hanging by a rope. Wearied with the efforts he made to support himself in this perilous situation, and his strength nearly exhausted, he seemed on the point of letting go his hold, and of seeking a watery grave. This spectacle caused in me such a revolution, that my sea-sickness went off. I bawled as loud as I could, and the seamen followed my example: our cries were at length heard by the people on board the felucca. At first they could not comprehend what was our drift, and searched

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every where before they came to the aid of this poor creature, who had no strength left. At length they found him; and it was not too late to snatch him from destruction.

The time we had lost on this occasion, and the efforts we had made to keep to windward, in case our drowning man should have fallen into the sea, had placed us in a situation which enabled us to get on board our vessel. We effected this without accident, and found her precisely where we had left her, without those on board knowing what course to take. The wind was somewhat abated, but the sea very high. When night came, the violence of the storm was considerably diminished.

The General being too ill to come to any determination for himself, we held another council, in which it was decided, that we should put him into the boat in the best way we could, being of opinion that the vessel which was aground, and the breakers, would be a sufficient guide to us; and that, by steering between the two, we should find our way into the Nile. Our plan succeeded: at the expiration of an hour we were in a line with the coast, and, turning suddenly to the right, glided along the tranquil bed of the smoothest of all rivers. Half an hour afterwards we were in the midst of a most refreshing and verdant country; it was exactly quitting Tartarus to enter by the river Lethe into the Elysian fields. This transition was the most sensibly felt by the General, who was already able to sit up, and who gave us no other uneasiness than from the

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depth of his wound, which no one of us had had the courage to probe.

Shortly after we saw to our right a fort, and to our left a battery, which had been formerly constructed to defend the entrance of the Nile, but which were now a league within. As these fortifications were not built until after the invention of gunpowder, and are consequently not more than three hundred years old, this circumstance may serve to show the progress the river has made in gaining ground at its entrance. The former of them, to the west of the river, is a square fortress, flanked with thick towers at the angles, and having batteries, in which are guns twenty-five feet in length. The latter is a mosque, in the front of which is a battery in a ruinous state, provided with a single gun of twenty-eight inches bore, the only use of which at present is to procure a safe delivery to the pregnant women who sit astride on it.

An hour after, we descried, amidst forests of date, banana, and sycamore trees, Rosetta, situated on the banks of the Nile, which annually washes the walls of its houses, without injuring them. I made a drawing of this place before we landed.

Raschid, which the Europeans have named Rosetta, or Rosset, stands on the Bolbitine branch of the Nile, and near its mouth, at no great distance from the ruins of the ancient city of Bolbitinum, which must have been situated on an elbow of that river, where at present stands the convent of Abu-Mandur, at half a league's distance from Rosetta.

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This opinion relative to the site of Bolbitinum, is supported by the heights which command the convent, and which must have been formed by earth thrown up by the river: as it is also by several columns, and other antiquities, which were found about twenty years ago, in repairing the convent.

Leo Africanus says, that Raschid was built by a Governor of Egypt, during the empire of the Caliphs. He does not mention, however, the name of the Caliph in whose reign it was built, nor the time of its foundation.

Rosetta contains nothing curious. Its ancient circumvallation implies, that it was once larger than it is at present. Its original compass is ascertained by the sand-banks by which it is covered from west to south, and which have been formed by the walls and towers that serve at this time as a nucleus to these accumulated heaps of sand. The population of this city, as well as that of Alexandria, diminishes daily. Very few houses are built, and those which are put together are made entirely with the old bricks of the buildings, which, being left uninhabited, fall to ruins for want of repairs. The houses, in general, better constructed than those of Alexandria, are, notwithstanding, so slight, that were they not favoured by the climate, which destroys nothing, not one of them would long be left standing at Rosetta. The stories which project one over the other, at length nearly touch; and this renders the streets very dismal and obscure. The houses situated on the banks of the

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Nile are not subject to this inconvenience; the greater part of them belong to foreign merchants. It would be very easy to embellish this part of the city, for which purpose it would be simply necessary to build on the river's bank a quay, which should be alternately lined and provided with flights of steps. These houses, independently of having the advantage of a view of the river, have also the delightful prospect of the Delta, and an island of about a league in breadth, possessing all the beauties of a well cultivated garden.

This island became our property, and the spot of our daily promenades. We at length made it a park, in which we amused ourselves with shooting; a pleasure which was augmented by that of curiosity, since every bird we killed was of a kind with which we were unacquainted.

I remarked that the inhabitants of the left bank of the Nile, that is to say, of the Delta, were more sociable and civilized than the others; the cause of which is, in my opinion, to be ascribed to the enjoyment of a greater plenty, and to the absence of the Bedouin Arabs, who, as they never cross the river, leave them in a state of tranquillity, to which those on the other side are totally strangers.

On investigating the causes, we are almost invariably less disposed to inveigh against the effects. Is it possible to urge as so many reproaches against the Arabs who cultivate the land, that they are sullen, mistrustful, avaricious, improvident, and careless about the future, when it is considered

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that, independently of the exactions of the proprietor of the land which they till, and those of the covetous Bey, and of the Sheik and Mamelukes, a wandering enemy in arms watches unceasingly the favourable opportunity to snatch from the industrious Arab, whatever superfluities he may venture to display? The money which he can hide, and which is a representative of every enjoyment, is, therefore, all that he can truly consider as belonging to him. Accordingly the art of burying it in the earth is his principal study; and even when he has accomplished this, he is not without his apprehensions. By appearing before his masters in rags and tatters, and with a studied display of wretchedness, he can alone hope to secure from the grasp of their avidity what he has hoarded together. It behoves him to inspire pity; and not to commiserate his lot would be to denounce him. Anxious to amass his dangerous wealth, and unhappy when in the possession of it, his life is spent between the disappointment which results from not having procured it, and the subsequent dread of seeing it snatched from him.

It is true that we had driven away the Mamelukes, but on our arrival, in want of all the necessaries of life, we found that, in expelling them, we had not supplied their place. And, indeed, who but these Mamelukes could subjugate and restrain the Bedouin Arabs, however badly armed, and however incapable of resistance, having no other ramparts than the shifting sands, no other lines than

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the wide expanse, and no other retreat than the immensity of the deserts? Had we endeavoured to bring them over to us by an offer of lands to cultivate, we know that in Europe the peasant who becomes a huntsman forbears from that moment to cultivate the land. Now the Bedouin is a huntsman from his infancy, and habitually so. Sloth and independence are the basis of his character; and to indulge the one, and protect the other, he is unceasingly in an agitated state, allowing himself to be harrassed and tormented by want. We had, therefore, nothing to offer to the Bedouins which could be equivalent to the advantage of their plundering us; a calculation which is invariably the basis of all the treaties they enter into.

Envy, that torment from which the abode of want itself is not exempt, hovers also over the burning sands of the desert. The Bedouins, in waging war against all the nations of the universe, confine their hatred and their envy to the Bedouins alone, who do not belong to their tribe. To them all wars are alike; and as soon as the tranquillity of Egypt is disturbed, either by an intestine quarrel, or by a foreign enemy, they take the field. Without attaching themselves to either party, they take advantage of the contest to plunder both. When we landed in Africa, they dispersed themselves among our ranks, and carried off the stragglers, in the same way that they would have plundered the inhabitants of Alexandria, if they had ventured from withinside their fortifications, to try the issue of a

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battle. Wherever the booty is, there the enemy of the Bedouins is to be found. Never backward to treat, because all the stipulations made with them are accompanied by presents, they are true to no other engagement than the one which necessity imposes. They are, however, neither cruel nor vindictive. The French whom they have made prisoners, in describing the hardships they suffered during their captivity, considered them rather as the effect of the mode of living adopted by this nation, than as the result of their barbarity. Several of our officers who had fallen into their hands have told me, that the labour which was required of them was neither cruel nor excessive: they had to attend on the women, and to load and drive the asses and camels. It is true that it was necessary to encamp and decamp continually, for which purpose all the camp equipage was kept packed up, and in less than a quarter of an hour the cavalcade was in motion. This equipage consisted of a mill to grind the corn and coffee, of a round iron plate, on which to bake the flat cakes, of a large coffee-pot, a small one, a few dried goat-skins to hold the water, a few sacks of corn, and the tent cloth, in which all these articles were wrapped. A handful of roasted corn, and a dozen of dates, were the customary ration on the marching days, accompanied by a small allowance of water, which, on account of its scarcity, had been applied to every other purpose before it was employed to allay the thirst. These officers, however, not having been galled by any ill treat-

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ment, harboured no resentment against the Bedouins, whose captives they had been, and whose wretched condition they had done nothing more than share.

The Bedouins, destitute of religious prejudices, and without any external form of worship, are friends to toleration. Among them a few revered customs supply the place of laws; and their principles bear the resemblance of virtues which answer all the purposes of their partial associations, and of their paternal government.

I shall here cite a trait of their hospitality. A French officer had been several months prisoner to a chief of the Arabs, whose camp was surprized in the night by our cavalry, and who had barely time to escape, his tents, cattle, and provisions, having fallen into our hands. On the following day, fugitive, solitary, and without any resources, he drew from his pocket a cake, and, presenting the half of it to his prisoner, said to him: "I do not know when we shall have any more food; but I shall not be accused of having refused to share my last morsel with one whom I esteem as my friend." Is it possible to hate such a nation, however ferocious it may otherwise be? The sobriety of the Bedouins, when contrasted with the artificial wants we have created, gives them an evident advantage over us; and I do not know how such men can be easily subjugated, or brought over by persuasion. They will have the eternal reproach to urge against us,

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that we have reaped rich harvests on the tombs of their ancestors.

So long as we were not in possession of Cairo, the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile, considering our existence in Egypt as very precarious, had made an apparent submission to our army on its passing through their territory. Entertaining, however, no doubt but that our troops would be speedily annihilated by their invincible tyrants, they had dared, either with a view to obtain a pardon from the latter for having submitted to us, or to indulge their propensity to plunder, to collect at the water-side, and to fire on the barks which were either forwarded to the army, or were returning from the encampments. Several of these barks had been obliged to turn back, after having been exposed to discharges of musketry for a space of several leagues; and these attacks were more particularly made by the inhabitants of the villages of Metubis and Tfemi. A small armed vessel and a detachment of troops were sent against them; and in this expedition I was engaged. Our instructions were of a pacific nature; and, after taking hostages, we accepted their submission.

A few days after, another bark having been dispatched for Cairo, no information could be obtained relative to her crew. We learned at length from the inhabitants themselves, that she had been attacked on the other side of Fua; and that her people, the whole of whom had been wounded, had jumped into the water, and had been drifted on

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shore by the current. Having been made prisoners, they had been conducted to Salmie, and there shot. General Menou, thinking it necessary to make a great example, two hundred men were put on board a half xebec, and several barks; and we landed within half a league of Salmie. One of the detachments surrounded the village, while another marched along the banks of the river; and a third, by which the circumvallation was to be completed, took up its ground two leagues below. We found the enemy mounted, and in battle array, in front of the village. They were beforehand with us in the attack, and came within the reach of our bayonets. Several of their leaders having been killed by our first discharge of musketry, the rest, finding themselves surrounded, soon fled. The third division, which was to have cut off their retreat, not being come up in time, the Sheik and his followers escaped. The village was delivered up to plunder during the remainder of the day; and when night came, was set fire to. So long as the darkness lasted, the flames, and the discharges of musketry, gave notice to an extent of six leagues round, that the vengeance we had inflicted was terrible and complete.

We returned to Fua, where all the Sheiks of the province had been convened, and were assembled. They listened with respect and resignation to the manifesto, which was read to them, relative to the expedition, and to the bases on which the new organization of Salmie was to be established. An

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ancient Sheik was appointed in the room of the one whom the French had just dispossessed and proscribed; and he was sent to collect the fugitive inhabitants of the village, and to bring in a deputation of them, which arrived three days after. The detachment by which the ancient Sheik had been escorted, was well received by the inhabitants; and the deputies told us on their arrival, that they could recognize the paternal feelings of those by whom their punishment had been inflicted. They could perceive very clearly that we meant them no harm, since we had put to death nine only of the offenders, and had burned but one quarter of the village. They consequently regarded us as conquerors who knew how to put bounds to our vengeance. They added, that the fire had been extinguished; that the house of the fugitive Sheik had been destroyed; and that they had presented all the fowls and geese they had to the soldiers, who had put a period to the remorse by which they had been tormented for three weeks past.

We established an ordinary post at Salmie, in concert with the neighbouring districts, and concluded our expedition by making a circuit through the country. In all the villages we came to, we met with a reception which went beyond the practice of the feudal system. We were received by the principal personage of the country, who laid the inhabitants under contribution for our maintenance. It was necessary to be acquainted with the abuses before a remedy could be applied to them: indepen-

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dently of which, being seduced by the facility which chance had afforded us, of observing the customs of the country, in the morals of which we were about to effect a change, we for this time allowed things to remain as they were.

A house of public entertainment, which had almost invariably belonged to the Mamelukes, heretofore the lord and master of the village, was furnished in a moment, according to the fashion of the country, with mats, carpets, and cushions. A number of attendants, in the first place, brought in perfumed water, pipes and coffee. Half an hour afterwards a carpet was spread, and on the outer part three or four different kinds of bread and cakes were laid in heaps, the centre being covered with small dishes of fruits, sweetmeats, creams, &c. the greater part of them pretty good, and very highly perfumed. This was considered but as a slight repast, which was over in a few minutes. In the course, however, of two hours, the same carpet was covered afresh with large loaves, immense dishes of rice, either boiled in milk, or in a rich gravy soup; halves of sheep badly roasted, large quarters of veal, boiled heads of different animals, and fifty or sixty other dishes, all crowded together, consisting of highly-seasoned ragouts, vegetables, jellies, sweetmeats, and honey in the comb. There were neither chairs, plates, spoons, forks, drinking-glasses, nor napkins: each of the guests, squatted on the ground, took up the rice in his fingers, tore the meat in pieces with his

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nails, dipped the bread in the ragouts, and wiped his hands and lips with a slice of bread. The water was served in a pot; and he who did the honours of the table took the first draught. In the same way, he was the first to taste the different dishes, as well to prevent his guests from harbouring any suspicions of him, as to shew them how strong an interest he took in their safety, and how high a value he set on their persons. The napkins were not brought until after dinner, when each of the guests washed his hands. He was then sprinkled over with rose-water; and the pipes and coffee produced.

When our repast was ended, our places were occupied by the natives of the second class, who were very soon succeeded by others. From a motive of religion a poor beggar was admitted; next came the attendants; and lastly, all those who chose to partake, until nothing was left. If these repasts cannot boast the convenience of ours, and the elegance by which the appetite is whetted, it is impossible not to be struck by the abundance, by the frank hospitality they display, and by the sobriety of the guests, who, notwithstanding there are so many dishes, do not remain more than ten minutes at the table.

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CHAPTER V.

The British fleet descried, and naval battle of Aboukir....Formation of islands and banks at the mouth of the Nile....False reports sent to Europe of the situation of the army, and natural advantages of Egypt....March of a caravan from Rosetta along the coast....Wrecks of the battle of Aboukir....Peninsula of Aboukir, and supposed ruins of Canopus and Heraclea....Jackals....Return to Rosetta.

On the morning of the first of August we were masters of Egypt, Corfu, and Malta; and the security of these possessions, annexed to France, seemed, in a great measure, to depend on the thirteen ships of the line we had with us. The powerful English fleets which were cruising in the Mediterranean, could not be supplied with stores and provisions without much difficulty and an enormous expense.

Bonaparte, who was sensible of all the advantages of such a position, was desirous to secure these advantages, by bringing our fleet into the harbour of Alexandria; and offered two thousand sequins to any one who should accomplish this. It is said that several of the captains of merchantmen had sounded, and found a passage for the fleet into the old harbour. The evil genius of France, however, counselled and persuaded the Admiral to moor

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his ships in the bay of Aboukir, and thus to change in one day the result of a long train of successes.

In the course of the afternoon chance led us to Abu-Mander, the convent I have already mentioned, and which terminates a pleasant walk from Rosetta along the river side. When we had reached the tower which commands the monastery, we descried a fleet of twenty sail.* To come up, to range themselves in a line, and to attack, were the operations of a minute. The first shot was fired at five o'clock; and shortly after, our view of the movements of the two fleets was intercepted by the smoke. When night came on we could distinguish somewhat better, without, however, being able to give an account of what passed. The danger to which we were exposed, of falling into the hands of the smallest troop of Bedouins which might come that way, did not draw our attention from an event by which we were so strongly interested. Rolls of fire incessantly gushing from the mouths of the cannon, evinced clearly that the combat was dreadful, and supported with an equal obstinacy on both sides. On our return to Rosetta we climbed on the roofs of the houses, from whence, at ten o'clock, we perceived a strong light, which indicated a fire. A few minutes after we heard a terrible explosion, which was followed by a profound silence. As we

* Throughout the whole of this narrative of the defeat of the French fleet in Aboukir-bay, it should be recollected, that it is the production of a Frenchman, who either would not, or could not, see things precisely as they were. There were fifteen sail only, including the Mutine brig. TRANSLATOR.

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had seen a firing kept up, from the left to the right, on the object in flames, we drew a conclusion that it was one of the enemy's ships which had been set fire to by our people; and we imputed the silence which ensued to the retreat of the English, who, as our ships were moored, were exclusively in possession of the range of the bay, and who, consequently, could persevere in, or discontinue the combat at pleasure. At eleven o'clock a slow fire was kept up; and at midnight the action again became general: it continued until two in the morning. At day-break I was at the advanced posts; and, ten minutes after, the fleets were once more engaged. At nine o'clock another ship blew up. At ten four ships, the only ones which were not disabled, and which I could distinguish to be French, crowded their sails, and quitted the field of battle, in the possession of which they appeared to be, as they were neither attacked nor followed. Such was the phantom produced by the enthusiasm of hope.

I took my station at the tower of Abu-Mandur, from whence I counted twenty-five vessels, half of which were shattered wrecks, and the others incapable of manœuvering to afford them assistance. For three days we remained in this state of cruel uncertainty. By the help of my spying-glass I had made a drawing of this disastrous scene, to be enabled the better to ascertain whether the morrow would be productive of any change. In this way we cherished illusion, and spurned at all evidence, un-

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til at length, the passage across the bar being cut off, and the communication with Alexandria intercepted, we found that our situation was altered, and that, separated from the mother country, we were become the inhabitants of a distant colony, where we should be obliged to depend on our own resources for subsistence until the peace. We learned, in short, that the English fleet had surrounded our line, which was not moored sufficiently near to the island to be protected by the batteries; and that the enemy, formed in a double line, had attacked our ships one after the other, and had by this manœuvre, which prevented them from acting in concert, rendered the one half of the fleet witness of the destruction of the other half. We learned that it was the Orient which blew up at ten o'clock at night, and the Hercule the following morning; and that the captains of the ships of the line, the Guillaume Tell and Genereux, and of the frigates, la Diane and la Justice, perceiving that the rest of the fleet had fallen into the enemy's hands, had taken advantage of a moment of lassitude and inaction on the part of the English to effect their escape. We learned, lastly, that the first of August had broken the unity of our forces; and that the destruction of our fleet, by which the lustre of our glory was tarnished, had restored to the enemy the empire of the Mediterranean; an empire which had been wrested from them by the matchless exploits of our armies, and which could only have been secured to us by the existence of our ships of war.

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Our position was entirely changed. In the possibility of being attacked, we were under the necessity of making preparations for our defence, for which purpose a general inspection of our different positions was made, the entrance of the Nile fortified, and a battery erected on one of the islands.

During one of our reconnoitering parties we returned to the *boghass*, or bar of the Nile, which was at that time nearly at its greatest height, and had an opportunity of seeing the efforts made by the weight of this river against the waves of the sea, which, at this season of the year, are impelled twelve hours daily by the north wind, in a direction opposite to that of the course of the river. From this conflict of contending waters there results a sand bank, which, gradually augmenting, becomes an island, and divides the current of the river, forming two branches, each of which has its distinct shelf. The eddy of these shelves throws on the beach a part of the sand which the current had swept along, and by this heaping up of sand the two branches narrow by degrees, until one of them gaining an ascendency over the other, the weakest of them is choaked up, and the island becomes main land. The branch which remains soon forms another sand-bank, an island, two new branches, &c. &c. In this way, it appears to me, the most natural explanation may be given of the ancient geography of the branches of the Nile, as well as of the voyage of Menelaus in Homer, and of the changes of the Delta, the site of which might in the first in-

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stance have been a gulf, then a sandy beach, and, lastly, a cultivated country, covered with superb cities and abundant crops, and intersected by canals, which, the soil having been either drained or watered with skill, might have dispensed abundance over the whole of the surface of this new country. Afterwards, in the lapse of time, and in consequence of the calamities inseparable from revolutions, some of the parts of this territory, thus gained from the sea, may have been deserted, while others may have become salt springs; and lakes may have been formed, next destroyed, and finally, reproduced under a new modification of matter. Canals, choaked up, may have changed their course, and have been lost. If this be granted, why, in our uncertain researches, do we enquire where the Bolbitine and Canopic branches of the Nile, the branch of Berenice, &c. &c. were situated?

The plants which are produced in the first place on the new land, are three or four kinds of sea weeds, round which the sand throws itself up in heaps. From its surface they spring up afresh; and their subsequent decay furnishes a manure which favours the vegetation of reeds. These reeds give a greater elevation and a greater solidity to the soil. The date-tree now appears, and by its shade prevents the sudden evaporation of the moisture, and renders the soil fruitful and productive, as may be seen in the environs of the fortress of Raschid, from whence, in the time of the Emperor Selim, the guns had a full command of the sea, and which is now a

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league from the sea-shore, surrounded by forests of palm-trees, beneath the shade of which other fruit-trees flourish together with all the vegetables that are produced in the best cultivated gardens.

On this expedition I saw at the mouth of the river, a number of pelicans and jerbos. On examining the fortress of Raschid, I observed that it had been constructed of parts of old buildings; and that several of the stones of the embrasures were of the fine free-stone of upper Egypt, and still covered with hieroglyphics. On visiting the subterraneous apartments, we came to magazines filled with old arms and armour, such as cross-bows, arrows, swords in the shape of those used in the time of the crusades, helmets, &c. In rummaging these magazines a great number of bats as large as pigeons flew out. They were shaped exactly like the wood-fauvette: we killed several of them.

After the loss of our fleet, a part of the troops which were at Rosetta had been distributed in small parties in the fortresses and batteries; and as it had been found necessary to keep up a communication between Alexandria and Rosetta, by the establishment of caravans between these two places, by Aboukir and the desert, and to employ a certain number of soldiers for the protection of these caravans against the Arabs, too few of them were left at Rosetta to do the garrison duty, and to defend the place in the case of an attack. It was therefore decided to form a militia, to be made up of the tra-
, speculators, and, in short, of all those idle,

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wandering, and irresolute men, who came up from Alexandria, or who were already returned from Cairo. These *animals* of a doubtful description, corrupted by the campaigns of Italy, having heard that in Egypt the harvests were the most abundant in the universe, had imagined that the fortunes of those who should be the first to take possession of such a country would be made to their hands. Others, of a debauched character, and whose minds had been fascinated by the relations which Savary has given, had quitted Paris to seek new pleasures at Cairo. Others, lastly, had come out as speculators, to supply the wants of the army, to watch the state of the markets, and to procure and sell at a high price whatever the colony might need. The Beys had, however, carried off with them from Cairo all the money and rich moveable property; and the populace had pillaged the houses of the more opulent inhabitants before we had obtained possession of that city. Bonaparte considered the appointment of army-furnishers as unnecessary; and the fleet of merchantmen was blocked up by the English. These combined circumstances threw a dark cloud over Egypt, to these travellers at least, who were surprized at finding themselves in a captive state, defeated in their projects, and obliged to concur towards the defence and organization of an establishment, the aim of which was no less than the consolidation of the fortune and glory of the nation at large. They accordingly, in letters destined for France, entered into the most me-

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lancholy details; and these letters, which were intercepted by the English, contributed to mislead them as to our real situation. From a persuasion that we were dying with hunger, they sent us back our prisoners, to hasten the moment of our destruction; and published in their newspapers that one half of our army was at the hospital, while half the remainder was employed in leading the others who were blind. At this time, however, upper Egypt supplied us abundantly with the best corn, and lower Egypt with the finest rice. The sugar made in the country costs only half the price of the sugar in France; and the innumerable herds of buffaloes, oxen, sheep, and goats, both belonging to the cultivators and to the Arab shepherds, abundantly supplied a new consumption at the time of our landing, securing to us plenty, and even superfluity for the future. To these resources we could add, as so many luxuries for our tables, fowl, fish, game, vegetables, and fruits of every description. Such were the objects of prime necessity and of luxury which Egypt afforded to these calumniators, who were in need of gold to repair the abuse they had already made of it, and who, being unable to find any, could perceive nothing around them except burning sands, a perpetual sun-shine, gnats and fleas, dogs which prevented them from sleeping, intractable husbands, and women who displayed their haggard necks, while their faces were veiled.

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Let us, however, abandon to the mercy of the winds this swarm of butterflies, which collect wherever a glimpse of sunshine is to be caught; and, glancing into futurity, see our conquests and the peace lay open the ports of Alexandria, bringing thither skilful and industrious cultivators, useful merchants, and, in short, settlers who, without terrifying themselves because Africa does not resemble Europe, will find that in Egypt a man may, for three half-pence, have a sufficient quantity of the best rice in the world for a day's consumption: that a part of the grounds which the inundations have deserted, may be cultivated by means of irrigation: that wind-mills would raise the water to a greater height than the machines with pots, which are at present employed, and which require so much attendance and so many oxen: that the islands of the Nile, and the greater part of the Delta, have need alone of settlers from the West-Indies to produce the finest sugar-canes on a territory which will not be destructive to the population: that on approaching Cairo, and on the other side of that city, a little amelioration will suffice to rival the plantations of indigo and cotton to be found elsewhere: and that, while they are making a sure and handsome fortune, they will live under the benign influence of a pure and healthy climate, on the banks of a river of an almost miraculous description, the advantages of which cannot be recapitulated. To conclude, they will see a new colony spring up, with cities ready built, and with skilful

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workmen, accustomed to toils and inured to the climate, by whose aid, and by the help of the canals which are already traced out, they will, in a few years, create new provinces, the future abundance of which cannot be doubted, since it will depend on modern industry alone to restore to them their ancient splendour.

With respect to our heedless soldiers, they amused themselves at the expence of our seamen who had been beaten; and having heard that Mourad-Bey had a white camel covered with gold and diamonds, their conversation was entirely engrossed by Mourad-Bey and his white camel. For my part, I was to visit upper Egypt; and I laid aside all further reflections relative to our situation until my return from thence.

Our excursion in the Delta was retarded by some pressing business which General Menou had to transact. I resolved to avail myself of this delay, by returning and visiting by land the part of Egypt, the coast only of which I had seen in coming from Alexandria by sea; and for this purpose I joined a caravan to go in quest of the ruins of Canopus.

A considerable number of the native inhabitants had joined the escort of the caravan: when, on quitting the city at the close of the evening, it began to spread itself over the yellow and sleek surface of the sandy hillocks which surround Rosetta; it produced the most striking and picturesque effect imaginable. The groups of soldiers, those of the merchants in their different costumes, sixty laden ca-

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mels, an equal number of Arab guides, the horses, asses, foot travellers, and a few instruments of military music, gave the animated semblance of one of the finest pictures of Benedetto, or of Salvator Rosa. As soon as we had descended the hillocks, and passed the palm-trees, we entered a vast desert, the horizontal line of which is broken by a few small brick monuments alone, intended to prevent the traveller from losing himself in the wide expanse, and without which the smallest error in the opening of the angle would bring him, by a lengthened line, into a direction very different from the one he meant to take. We proceeded, amid the silence of the desert and of the night, over incrustations of salt, which gave some small degree of solidity to the moving sands, our cavalcade being preceded by a detachment of soldiers. Next came the travellers, then the beasts of burden, and lastly, another detachment to protect the convoy from the Bedouin Arabs, who, when they are not in sufficient force to attack in front, sometimes carry off the stragglers within twenty paces of the rear of the caravan.

We reached the sea-side at midnight, when the rising moon lighted up a new scene. The shore, to the extent of four leagues, was covered by wrecks, which enabled us to form an estimate of the loss we had sustained at the battle of Aboukir. To procure a few nails, or a few iron hoops, the wandering Arabs were employed in burning on the beach the masts, gun-carriages, boats, &c. which had

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been constructed at so vast an expense in our ports, and even the wrecks of which were a treasure in a country where so few of these objects were to be found. The robbers fled at our approach; and nothing was left but the bodies of the wretched victims, drifted on the loose sand, by which they were half covered, and exhibiting there a spectacle as sublime as terrific. The sight of these distressing objects plunged my soul by degrees in a deep melancholy. I endeavoured to shun these terrifying spectres, but in vain; all those that came across me attracted my attention by their various attitudes, and made different impressions on my mind. But a few months before, young, replete with health, courage and hope, they had, by a noble effort, torn themselves from the embraces of their weeping mothers, sisters, and wives, and from the feeble struggles of their tender infants. All those by whom they were cherished, said I to myself, and who, yielding to their ardour, had allowed them to depart, are still offering up prayers for their success, and for their safe return: waiting with avidity the news of their triumphs, they are preparing feasts for them, and counting the moments as they pass, while the objects of their expectation lie on a distant beach, parched up by a burning sand, and having their skulls already bleached.....To whom does that mangled skeleton belong? Is it thine, intrepid Thevenard? Unwilling to suffer the amputation of thy fractured limbs, thou hadst no other wish to gratify than the honour

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of dying at thy post. Thy impatient ardour would have been tired out by the delays of the operation: thou hadst nothing more to expect from life; but thou mightest still give a useful order, and wast apprehensive of being anticipated by death. Another spectre succeeds, having its arm raised over its head, which is sunk into the sand. Slain in the fight, remorse seems to have survived thy courageous end. Hast thou any reproach to make against thyself? Thy mutilated limbs attest thy courage; and couldst thou be more than brave? Is it owing to thy mistakes that the wrecks which the waves have thrown up are accumulated about thee? How great is my regret, that my soul, filled with emotion at quitting thy remains, can only bestow on them unavailing pity. Who is this other, seated, and with his legs shot away? He appears, by his countenance, to arrest for a moment, the death to which he is already a prey! It is thou, unquestionably, courageous Dupetitoire! Receive the tribute of the enthusiasm with which thou hast inspired me. Thou hast perished; but thy eyes, in closing, did not see thy colours struck; and thy last word was an order given from the deck to pour a broadside on the enemies of thy country. Adieu: thy ashes are denied a tomb; but the tears of the hero by whom thou art regretted, are the unperishable trophy which will inscribe thy name in the temple of remembrance. Who is this in the tranquil attitude of a virtuous man, whose last action was dictated by wisdom and by his duty? His view

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is still directed towards the English fleet. Like Bayard, it was his wish to die with his face turned towards the enemy. His hand is stretched out towards a youthful corpse, which is fast hastening to decay. I can distinguish, however, a lengthened neck, and outstretched arms. It is thou, young hero, amiable Casabianca! It can be no other. Death, inflexible death, has united thee to thy father, whom thou preferrest before life. Sensible and respectable youth, time held out to thee a promise of future glory; but thy filial piety made choice of death; accept our tears, the reward of thy virtues.

The sun had dispelled the darkness, but had not dissipated the gloomy complexion of my thoughts; the caravan, however, on stopping, apprized me that we were at the edge of the lake which separates the plain of the desert from the peninsula, at the extremity of which Aboukir is built. This deep and extensive lake is the ancient Canopic branch which the Nile has abandoned, and the banks of which have been forced back, and its bed enlarged, by the pressure of the sea, which has found a ready entrance. This encroachment on the lake, which is daily gaining ground, threatens to destroy the isthmus which attaches Aboukir to the main land, and over which the canal flows that conveys the water to Alexandria. The Arabian princes attempted to throw up a mound, which was never finished, or which, not having sufficient solidity, yielded to the efforts of the waves, impelled during a part of the year by the northerly winds. At present

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there are no other remains of this mound than two piers, one on each bank. A topographical plan of this part of Egypt, which is little known, and which has been badly traced on all the charts, would supply the means of reasoning with efficacy on the dangers which may result from the sea's motion, and of applying the remedies requisite to the security of the important canal which conveys the water of the Nile to Alexandria.

The difficulty of ferrying over the canal of Maadieh occasioned this short passage to occupy nearly as much time as the rest of the route. On the opposite bank our people were employed in erecting a battery to protect this communication; which, without such a precaution, would be exposed to the enemy's attacks. We had scarcely crossed the canal when we had a proof of this: an English brig and a cutter, which had come purposely to intercept us, fired at us seven or eight balls. Our silence inducing them to think that we had nothing with which to reply to them, the English, a few hours after, detached from their fleet twelve boats, together with the two vessels abovementioned, which steered towards our works with crowded sails. We imagined that they were about to attempt a landing: they came to anchor, however, near the battery, and when night drew on kept up a heavy fire on us. We waited for the moon's rising; and, as soon as her light had enabled us to ascertain their position, answered them in a way which was apparently so advantageous, that on our

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fourth discharge they cut their cables, left their anchors behind them, and stood out to sea.

After having crossed the mouth of the lake, by following two small openings skirted by sandy hillocks, I at length reached the suburb of Aboukir, which bears a great resemblance to the city, from which it is separated by a distance of about a hundred and fifty paces: the city and suburb, taken together, may consist of from forty to fifty bad houses in a ruinous state, intersecting the peninsula, at the extremity of which the fortress stands. At a distance this fortress has a respectable appearance; the bastions would, however, fall in on the third discharge of the culverins which are placed on the ramparts, and which are in a very neglected state: one of them, a brass piece, carries a fifty pound ball. It was found necessary to raze a part of the batteries, and to form with the rubbish a platform of sufficient solidity to receive four of our thirty-six pounders. This precaution did not appear to me to be of any great utility, as the small vessels and launches which are capable of carrying guns to batter the walls are prevented from approaching this promontory by the reefs and rocks which surround it. The enemy would not attempt a landing at this point; and should it even be carried into effect, the fortress could neither hold out, nor afford any security to troops, or to a magazine, unless lines were to be constructed in front to defend the approach. On the whole, it appeared to me that it would have been better to destroy the fortress, and fill up the

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cisterns, preventing thus the necessity of a garrison, of no utility during the absence of an enemy, and which could not fail to be blockaded, or forced to surrender, the moment a hostile landing should be effected.

I made a bird's-eye view of the peninsula.

In the embrasure of the outer gate of the fortress I found four large stones of dark green porphyry, and two long stones of the most compact statuary granite. At the inner gate I found, together with four other stones, a fragment of doric entablature, having triglyphs of a large size and fine execution. These fragments, and a few vestiges of foundations at the point of the rock, are the only antiquities I could discover at Aboukir, the site of which can never have undergone any alteration, since the soil is a calcareous level which rises above the bed of the sea, and which is attached to the main land by an isthmus too narrow to have allowed a considerable city to have been built there. There is, therefore, every reason to suppose that this was the fort or castle, facing the sea, of Canopus, or of Heraclea, which Strabo places at or near this spot. Before I reached Aboukir, at half a league's distance, I had passed in front of the cisterns, the construction of which had been praised to me. I returned thither, and could find nothing besides three square wells of Arabian structure, surrounded by heights which certainly contain ruins, and on which a large quantity of fragments of earthen pots are heaped together, blended with the sand of the desert which

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the wind has carried thither. I suspected that Arabic towers had been sunk on this spot, or, perhaps, that it had been the site of a manufactory of pottery, or that these were the ruins of Heraclea. A few fragments of granite on the most elevated part of the ground induced me to prefer this latter opinion.

On the following day I proceeded with a detachment along the western coast, examining all the sinuosities and the smallest eminences. In lower Egypt the latter almost invariably contain antiquities, by the aggregation of which they were originally formed. After a search of three-quarters of an hour, I found at the bottom of the second creek a small pier formed of colossal fragments. I felt an inexpressible pleasure on perceiving, in the first instance, a fragment of a hand, the first phalanx of which, fourteen inches in length, belonged to a statue thirty-six feet in height. The granite, workmanship, and style of this fragment, left no doubt in my mind but that it belonged to the earliest period of the Egyptians. By the disposition of this hand, as well as by several fragments in its vicinity, and by the mere habit of examining Egyptian statues, the posture of which is so little varied, it is easy to recognize in this fragment an Isis holding a nilometer. It might readily be removed from the spot where it is placed; but this would greatly diminish its value: near it are several fragments of architecture, the dimensions of which evince that they once belonged to a capacious and handsome

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edifice of the doric order. These ruins have, for several centuries, been washed by the waves, without having been disfigured; insomuch that it would appear to be the lot of Egyptian monuments of every description to resist alike the ravages of time and of man. Nearer to the sea-side, and surrounded by the fragments of this colossal statue, is a statue of a sphinx, the head and fore legs of which are mutilated, as far as the petrified plants and small shells with which they were encrusted would enable me to judge. Its style attests that it is the work of a Greek sculptor. It is not of granite, but of a free-stone which resembles white marble, and which has a transparency not to be met with in this substance out of Egypt. Its height is thirteen or fourteen feet. At some distance, amid fragments of entablatures similar to those I have already described, is another statue of Isis, sufficiently well preserved to allow its position and attitude, when standing, to be ascertained; its legs are broken, but the fragments are at its side. This statue is of granite, and is ten feet in height. All these antique statues and fragments appear to have been placed on this spot to form a pier, and to serve as a breaker for an edifice which has been since destroyed, and which, if an opinion can be formed from its foundations, must have been a sea-bath, the plan of which is still to be traced in the intersected rock. The part which is not covered by the sea, has conduits for the water, constructed in brick, over which cement and pouzzolana have been laid.

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At a distance of nearly half a mile from thence, proceeding inland, and approaching Alexandria, are several foundations constructed in brick, the plan of which cannot be perfectly made out, but which, from several fragments of buildings well executed, appear to have belonged to edifices of some importance. Near them are several corinthian capitals in marble, too much decayed to be measured, but which must have appertained to bases of the same substance: the columns to which they belonged must have been twenty inches in diameter. Farther on are a great number of fragments of columns of rose-coloured granite, fluted, and all of them of the same size, of the same substance, and wrought with the same care, being incontestably the ruins of a large and superb temple of the doric order. From the accounts which Strabo has transmitted to us relative to this part of Egypt, and from what I have just described, more particularly the latter fragments, I had not the smallest doubt but that these were the ruins of Canopus, and those of its temple, built by the Greeks, the worship of which vied with that of Lampsacus :.... of that miraculous temple in which old men recovered their youth, and the sick their health. The bath I have just mentioned was, perhaps, one of the means the priests employed to work these wonders.

The soil has preserved none of the luxuriousness of the site of ancient Canopus. A few hillocks of sand and ruins in brick, large square blocks of granite, without hieroglyphics, and without any

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determinate shape to attest to what kind of edifices and to what age they belonged; and, lastly, a few small vallies, as barren as the heights by which they are formed, are all that remains of a city, once so delightful, the site of which has now a wild and dismal aspect. It is true that the canal of which Strabo speaks, which extended from Alexandria to Eleusina, and a branch of which reached and bestowed a refreshing coolness on Canopus, has so entirely disappeared, that the traces of it cannot be distinguished, nor the possibility of its existence at present conceived. There are no longer any remains of water in its environs, unless in a few wells or cisterns, which contain an inconsiderable quantity, and which are so narrow and dark, that neither their dimensions nor depth can be measured. In short, that city, the seat of voluptuous delights, to which the votaries of pleasure resorted, is now become a desert, frequented by the jackals and the Bedouin Arabs. I did not encounter any of the latter; but I met with a jackal which I should have taken for a dog, if I had not had an opportunity to examine very minutely his pointed nose, his erected ears, his length of tail sweeping the ground, and his coat of fur like that of the fox, to whom he has a greater resemblance than to the wolf, notwithstanding the jackal is considered as the wolf of Africa. Not wishing to weary the patience of the escort by which I had been accompanied, I returned to Aboukir, where I found dispatches for the commander-in-

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chief, which were about to be sent off by a detachment.

This opportunity of quitting so dismal a spot, gave me an inconceivable pleasure. During the stay I had made there, I had never been able to banish from my mind that the fortress was a state-prison in which I was confined; and the adjacent rock, against which the waves incessantly dashed with a frightful noise, the whistling of the winds, the whiteness of the soil, which hurt the sight; every thing, in short, in this melancholy abode, afflicted and chilled my soul. On quitting it, I fancied that I had escaped from a tyrant by whom I had been held captive.

The night was so dark that we had to grope our way, at times wading through the sea, at others in the midst of thickets by which we were torn, and stumbling every now and then among the wrecks which were scattered on the beach. At three in the morning we reached Rosetta, where I reposed myself voluptuously, not on my bed, for I had not seen one since my departure from France, but on a clean mat in a cool chamber.

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CHAPTER VI.

Anniversary feast on the birth of Mahomet....Music of the Egyptians....Various races of people in Rosetta, Copts, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Jews, Abyssynians....Adgis, or pilgrims from Mecca....Egyptian women.

It was the anniversary of the birth of Mahomet; and we were surprized to find that no preparations were making to celebrate this festival, the most solemn in the Arabic hegira. Towards the close of the evening General Menou sent for the Mufti, whose honours and emoluments had been benefited by our arrival. His answers being evasive, the other magistrates, on their being questioned, said that they had purposed to make the customary preparations; but as they were only able to act as inferiors in an affair which was in the department of their colleague, the Mufti, they had been obliged to wait his orders on that head. The priest was thus unmasked. Like a true courtier, he had daily asked and obtained new favours. The opportunity, however, presented itself of instilling into the minds of the people, that we opposed what was one of the most solemn acts of their worship, he had seized it with avidity. His stratagem was rewarded in the eastern manner: notice was sent to him that the festival should commence without delay; and on

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his observing that there could not possibly be sufficient time to make the necessary preparations, the General told him, that if it was too late to celebrate the festival, he should be under the necessity of sending him, the Mufti, to prison. This had the desired effect: in a quarter of an hour the festival was proclaimed, the city illuminated, and hymns of piety blended with those of rejoicing and gratitude.

After supper we were invited to repair to the quarter of the first civil magistrate, in the front of whose house we found all the preparations for a Turkish festival. The street was the assembly-room, which was lengthened or contracted according to the number of guests. An alcove covered with carpeting was occupied by the distinguished personages. Fires, combined with a number of small lamps and large tapers, formed a whimsical illumination. On one side was a band of martial music, consisting of short squeaking hautboys, small kettle-drums, and large Albanese drums. On the other were stationed violins and singers; and, in the middle, Greek dancers; and attendants provided with sweetmeats, coffee, syrups, rose-water, and pipes. In this way the festival was furnished.

As soon as we were seated the martial music commenced. A kind of leader of the band played alternately two different airs, which the other musicians repeated in chorus. Whether it was owing to the calmness of the atmosphere, or to a wish of introducing too many flourishes into it, it so hap-

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pened that the second measure was a true cacophony, a discordance of harsh sounds, as disagreeable to nice ears as it was enchanting to those of the Arabs. I noticed particularly, that the leader of the band invariably took up each of the airs with all the importance and enthusiasm of an inspired *improvisatore*, and that, when his nerves appeared to be no longer able to support the energy of expression he tried to bestow on it, the chorus came to his aid with the same unvaried dissonance. The violins, which were more tolerable, afterwards played an air, in the burden of which a small portion of melody was overcome by superfluous ornaments. The nasal twangs of an inspired singer were superadded to the fastidious softness of the semi-tones of the violins, which, constantly shunning the key-note, fell into the second of the key, and invariably terminated by the diesis, or imperfect semi-tone immediately beneath the key-note, as in the Spanish seguidillas. This may be considered as a proof that the residence of the Arabs in Spain introduced into that kingdom this species of musical composition. After this couplet, the violins took up the same strain with new variations, which the singer disguised by a sharp movement, until he had entirely lost sight of the air, falling into the wild expression of sounds, without harmony, and without principle. This was what, however, charmed his auditory still more and more. The dance which followed was of the same description with the singing: it was not the expression of joy, or of gaiety,

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but of an extravagant pleasure, which made hasty strides towards lasciviousness; and this was the more disgusting, as the performers, all of them of the male sex, presented, in the most indecent way, scenes which love has reserved for the two sexes in the silence and mystery of the night.

A variety of trifling circumstances obtruded themselves to delay our great excursion, and to retard the object of my journey.

Being under the necessity of confining my observations to what was immediately about me, I remarked how easy it was to distinguish, in the variety of figures, the different races of the individuals who compose the population of Rosetta. It struck me that this city, a station of intermediate commerce, must necessarily have collected together persons belonging to all the nations of Egypt, and have preserved them more apart and in a better characterized state than in a great city, such as Cairo, where the relaxation of morals must have crossed them, and caused them to degenerate. I accordingly fancied that I could distinguish in the Copts the ancient Egyptian stock, a description of swarthy Nubians, such as we see them represented on old sculptures, with flat foreheads, eyes half closed and raised up at the angles, high cheek-bones, a broad and flat nose very short, a large flattened mouth placed at a considerable distance from the nose, thick lips, little beard, a shapeless body, crooked legs without any expression in the contour, and long flat toes. Ignorance, drunkenness, cunning,

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and finesse, are the moral qualities, by which these ancient possessors of Egypt are characterized. The first period of their degradation may be taken from their subjugation by Cambyses, that jealous and wrathful conqueror, who, governed by terror, changed the laws, persecuted religious worship, mutilated what he could not destroy, and degraded his conquest the better to submit it to his yoke. The second period was the persecution of Dioclesian, when Egypt had embraced the Catholic persuasion: this persecution to which the Egyptians submitted as faithful martyrs, prepared them very naturally for the subjugation of the Mahometans. Under the late government they were become the agents and brokers of the Beys and Kiaschefs, whom they plundered daily. What they had thus obtained was, however, merely held *in trust*, as they were made by a fine to restore in bulk what they had amassed in detail. It was on this account that the art they employed in concealing what they had acquired, was greater than the impudence they had displayed in its acquisition.

After the Copts come the Arabs, the most numerous of the inhabitants of modern Egypt. Without possessing an influence proportioned to their numbers, they seem to be placed there to people the country, to cultivate the lands, to tend the flocks, or to be themselves in the degraded state of animals. They are, however, lively, and have a penetrating physiognomy. Their eyes, which are sunk in and overarched, are replete with vivacity

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and character; all their proportions are angular; their beard is short and hanging in filaments; their lips are thin and open, displaying fine teeth; their arms are fleshy; and, in other respects, they are more active than handsome, and more muscular than well shaped. The characteristic traits I have just described are most common in the small villages and solitary habitations, and more particularly among the inhabitants of the desert. Three classes of these people, altogether different from each other, are, however, to be distinguished. First, the Arab shepherd, who seems to belong to the original stock, and who resembles the description I have just given. Next, the Bedouin Arab, on whom a more exalted independence, and the state of warfare in which he lives, have bestowed a character of savage ferocity, as may be seen in the portrait (Fig. 1. Plate IX.) The Arab from whom this portrait was taken was a chief of a tribe, whom I drew the moment after he was made prisoner, when he thought he was about to lose his head. Lastly, the Arab cultivator, the most civilized, the most corrupted, the most degraded, in consequence of the state of bondage in which he is held, and the most varied in person and in character, as may be remarked in the heads of the Sheiks or chiefs of villages, in those of the fellahs or peasants, in those of the boufackirs or beggars, and, finally, in those of the artizans, who constitute the most abject class. These two classes of Bedouins and

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cultivators are sprung from the preceding one, that of the Arab shepherds.

The beauties of the Turks are more dignified, and their shape more delicate. Their thick eyelids allow but little expression to the eyes: the nose is thick; the mouth and lips handsome; the beard long and bushy; the complexion less swarthy; and the neck plump. In all their gestures and motions of the body they are dull and heavy; and this solemnity of gait, which, notwithstanding the nullity of their authority, inspires a certain degree of awe, they mistake for dignity. They possess a beauty which cannot be defined, or a reason given why it should be considered as such. This is not the case with the Greeks, who must be classed among the foreigners by whom societies distinct from those of the indigenous inhabitants are formed. The fine delineations of their form, their arch and penetrating eyes, and the delicacy and flexibility of their traits, bring to the remembrance all that the imagination has figured to itself relative to their ancestors, and all that their monuments have transmitted to us to attest their elegance and their taste. The degraded state to which they have been reduced, through a dread which the superiority of their intellectual faculties still inspires, has rendered many of them wily knaves. Were they, however, left to themselves, they would perhaps become, in a little time, what they formerly were, subtle and ambitious. Of all the nations on earth, this is the one which longs the most ardently for a revolution,

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from whatever quarter it may come. On our taking possession of Rosetta, at an entertainment which was given, a young Greek came up to me, kissed my shoulder, and, with his finger on his lips, without uttering a single syllable, slipped privately into my hand a nosegay which he had brought me. This simple demonstration completely unfolded all his sensations, and was expressive of his political situation, his fears, and his hopes.

Next come the Jews, who are in Egypt what they are every where;....hated, without being dreaded; despised and persecuted incessantly, without ever being expelled: plundering constantly without being very rich; and rendering themselves useful to all the world at the same time that their only incentive is self-interest. I do not know whether it is owing to their being nearer to their own country that their physical character is better preserved here than elsewhere: it struck me, however, very forcibly.... Those among them who are ugly resemble our Jews; while the handsome ones, and more particularly those who are young, bear a strong resemblance, in point of character, to the head which painting has handed down to us of Jesus Christ. This seems to prove that the portrait is traditional, and that it is not to be dated from the fourteenth century and the revival of the arts. See the head which I have drawn, (Fig. 3. Plate IX.) it is that of a young Jerusalem Jew, and may be adduced in support of my observation. In the great cities of Egypt the Jews contend with the Copts for the

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places in the custom-houses, stewardships of estates, and, in general, for whatever requires calculation, and supplies the means of amassing and concealing a fortune well or badly acquired.

The characteristic traits of another race of men, who are very numerous, are strongly delineated. These are the Barabras or people from the upper countries, inhabitants of Nubia, and of the frontiers of Abyssinia. In these fervid climates nature has, in an economical mood, denied them every superfluity. They have neither flesh nor fat, but simply nerves, muscles, and tendons of greater elasticity than vigour. They perform by activity and address what others effect by strength. It would seem as if the barrenness of their soil had exhausted the small portion of substance which nature has bestowed on them. Their skin is of a shining and jetty black, exactly similar to that of antique bronzes. They have not the smallest resemblance to the negroes of the western parts of Africa. Their eyes are deep set and sparkling, with the brows hanging over; the nose pointed; the nostrils large; the mouth wide; the lips of moderate dimensions; and the hair and beard in small quantity, and hanging in little locks. Being wrinkled betimes, and retaining their agility till the last, the only indication of old age among them is the whiteness of the beard, every part of the body remaining slender and muscular as in their youth. Their physiognomy is cheerful; and they are lively and well disposed. They are most commonly employed to guard the magazines and

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timber yards. They are clad in a piece of white woollen cloth, gain but little, and subsist on almost nothing. They are very faithful to their masters, to whom they are strongly attached.

During the pilgrimage of Mecca all the nations which are ranged under the denomination of Maugrabins, or western people, pass through Egypt. This was the time for the return of the caravan. Bonaparte, who had made every effort in his power to enable it to reach Cairo without accident, had not, however, been able to prevent Ibrahim-Bey, on his flight into Syria, from reaching the desert before him, and from attacking the caravan, which he did at Belbeis, sharing the plunder with the Arabs, and with the emir Adgis, whose duty it was to protect the treasures. All that the Bey allowed to reach us were the mendicant devotees, who flocked to us in bands of two or three hundred, made up of all the nations of Africa, from Fez to Tripoli. They were so worn out by fatigue, that they all bore a resemblance to each other, being as meagre as the countries through which they had passed are barren, and as much decayed as prisoners after a long confinement in a dungeon. It is the impulsion, the powerful force of opinion, which unquestionably renders man the strongest of all animals. When the space which these pilgrims had gone over is considered, together with all that they must have suffered on so immense and terrible a journey, no doubt can be entertained but that it required the excitement of a moral aim, which alone could

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enable them to brave so many and such painful fatigues; and that the enthusiasm resulting from a pious sentiment, together with the consideration which is bestowed on the title of *adgi* or pilgrim, a title proudly borne by those who undertake the journey to Mecca; are the levers which alone could move the indolence of the eastern nations, and urge them on to such an undertaking. To these incentives, however, may be added the right which the *adgis* assume to themselves, of relating, during the remainder of their lives, to the other Mussulmans, on whose credulity they impose, all that they either have or have not seen. I may, perhaps, be accused of a small share of *adgism* in the travels I have undertaken, and of braving difficulties with a view of imparting to others a portion of my enthusiasm. My own curiosity, however, sets my conscience at rest, being aware that my style is not over fascinating, and that my drawings have nothing but their fidelity to boast.

Fourteen Mamelukes, who were without doubt an incumbrance at the head-quarters, had been sent to Rosetta. I examined them very attentively, without reflecting that they do not belong to any particular nation, but are composed of people of all countries. Accordingly, among the few I had an opportunity to see, I did not find one who had a physiognomy sufficiently characterized to be worth the pains of drawing. Several of them were, however, natives of Mingrelia and Georgia; but, whe-

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ther it was that nature had denied them their share of the beauty she has bestowed on those countries, or because she had been more lavish in her gifts to the women, I waited until others should present themselves with more striking features. I also deferred the pleasure of drawing the Egyptian women until we should, by our influence over the manners of the eastern nations, remove the veil by which they are covered. But even supposing, which is scarcely to be presumed, that the men should make a sacrifice to us of their prejudices on this score, the coquetry of the old women, who are the most scrupulous on every point in which honour is concerned, would for a long time require, on the part of their youthful companions, the austerity to which they were the victims in the early part of life. What I had an opportunity to notice is, that the young girls who are not yet marriageable, and relative to whom less strictness is observed, bear a pretty general resemblance to the forms of the Egyptian statues of the goddess Isis. The women of the lower classes, who take greater pains to conceal the nose and mouth than any other part, discover from time to time, not attractions, but fine slender limbs, the shape of which displays more activity than grace. As soon as their breasts have attained their full growth, they begin to fall, and their gravitation is such, that it would be difficult to say how low some of them reach. The complexion of these women is neither black nor white, but a dusky brown. They dye of a black colour the eye-brows,

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eye-lids, and chin, but without producing any great effect. I have not, however, seen any women carry with more elegance, a child, a vase, or a basket of fruit; or walk with greater ease and security. Their long drapery would be by no means unbecoming, were it not that a veil, in the shape of a ship's pendant, casts a gloom over the whole of their dress, so as to make it resemble the dismal costume of a nun of the order of penitents.

One of the rich natives who was under some obligations to me, by way of testifying his gratitude, invited me to his house. On account of my advanced age, and of my being a foreigner, he thought that he might allow his wife to be of the breakfast party, and thus contribute more to my entertainment. As he was engaged in mercantile pursuits, he spoke a little Italian, and acted as an interpreter between myself and the lady, whose beauty was accompanied by a soft tinge of melancholy. She was extremely fair, and her hands uncommonly delicate and handsome. On my admiring them she held them out to me. We had very little to say to each other; and, to make up for this silence, I kissed her hands, which, as she was perplexed to know what she should afterwards do to interest me, she did not offer to withdraw. On my side, I dared not let them go, for fear she would imagine that I was tired of them. I am at a loss to conjecture how this scene would have terminated, if refreshments had not been brought to relieve us from our embarrassment. They were handed to her, and she pre-

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sented them to me in a very particular manner, and with some degree of grace. I fancied I could perceive that her negligent and pensive air was merely the affectation of a great lady, who persuaded herself that, by assuming it, she should become superior to all the magnificence by which she was surrounded and covered. The portrait, Fig. 1. Plate 1. is that of a female native married to a Franc. She spoke Italian, was handsome, of engaging manners, and fond of her husband. He was not, however, so amiable but that she could bestow a part of her affection elsewhere; and the jealousy which ensued on his side was the occasion of perpetual strife. She was all submission, and never failed to renounce the object of his suspicions. On the following day, however, there was a fresh complaint; she again wept and repented; and, notwithstanding, her husband was never without some motive for scolding her. The house in which this couple lived was opposite to mine; and as the street was narrow, I became very naturally the lady's confident, and the witness of her chagrins. The plague broke out in the city; and my neighbour was so very communicative, that she could not fail either to give or take it. Accordingly she caught it of her last lover; bestowed it very faithfully on her husband; and they all three died. I regretted her death: her singular good-nature and ingenuousness, in the midst of her irregularities, and the sincerity of the regret she manifested, had interest-

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1. An Egyptian Lady. 2. The manner of passing the Nile.

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ed me, and more particularly, because, as a mere confident, I could have no dispute with her either as a husband or a lover. Fortunately for me, I was not at Rosetta at the time the plague made its ravages in that city.

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CHAPTER VII.

The author enters the Delta....Number of villages and populousness....Description of the Almés or female dancers at Métubis....Desuk and other villages.... Encounter with the Arabs at Scha-abas-Amers.... Return to Rosetta.

We at length set out for the Delta, on the excursion to which I had so long and so eagerly looked forward, to tread a ground which had never been explored by any European, and, indeed, but imperfectly by any other persons, the inhabitants excepted; for the Mamelukes had rarely penetrated to the centre of the Delta, in collecting the tributes, and regulating the *avanies* or fines. On the 10th of September, in the afternoon, the Generals Menou and Marmont, a dozen men of letters and artists, and myself, with a detachment of two hundred men as an escort, crossed the Nile in boats. Although some pains had been taken to make every necessary provision, it was found, on our landing, that what was most essential had been forgotten. The horses we were to mount had no qualities belonging to the Arabian breed, except their vices; and such of the travellers as were bad horsemen, and whose only alternative was a horse without a bridle, or an ass without a pannel, hesitated whether they should proceed, or renounce a journey

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they had so ardently desired, and which they had begun with so much enthusiasm. By degrees, however, our arrangements were made, and we set forward. We passed through the villages of Madie, Elyeusera, Abugueridi, Melahue, Abuserat, Ralaici, Bereda, Ekbet, Estaone, Elbat, Elsezri, Suffrano, Elnegars, and Madie-di-Berimbal; and reached Berimbal at night. I have given this uninteresting list of the different villages through which we passed, to convey an idea of the population of four leagues of territory, and of the abundance of a soil which nourishes so many inhabitants, and contains on its surface so many habitations. Exclusively of its own internal consumption, it has to supply the wants of its titular possessor, who commonly resides in the capital. At Madie-di-Berimbal our camels fell into the canal; and it was midnight before we could collect them together. Our baggage and provisions were drenched; all thoughts of our arrival had been given up; and, after having with some difficulty procured a supper, we reposed ourselves as well as we could at two o'clock in the morning. The following day, after having dried our clothes, we set out, and reached Metubis at the expiration of two hours, meeting with as many villages as on the former occasion.

General Menou had some enquiries to make, and an explanation to enter into with the Sheiks, in the vicinity, relative to their past offences. It was, therefore, determined, that we should not quit Metubus until the following day. This city, on a

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variety of accounts, presented food for our curiosity. In the first place it is probable that it was built on the ruins of the ancient Metelis; and, in the next place, the well-known and tolerated licentiousness of its manners had bestowed on it the reputation which Canopus had precedently enjoyed. Our researches after antiquities were ineffectual; all the granite we could find was employed for grinding the corn, and appeared to have been brought thither from some other spot to be applied to that use. We were told of ruins to the south-east, at the distance of a league and a half; but it was late, and a curiosity of another kind attracted our attention. We requested of the Sheiks a sight of the *Almés*, a description of female dancers similar to those of India. These chiefs, a part of whose revenues they probably constituted, made some difficulty in allowing them to be brought into our presence. If polluted by the inspection of infidels, their reputation might suffer, and they might perhaps even be obliged to forfeit their condition in life. The vileness of a christian in the eyes of a Mussulman, may be estimated from this anecdote, since the objects which are the most dissolute and abandoned in this sect, may, notwithstanding, be profaned by the view of a European. The presence, however, of a General, together with that of two hundred soldiers, and some old offences for which the Sheiks had an atonement to make, soon removed every obstacle. The *Almés* arrived; and we could not perceive that they participated in the slightest degree in the poli-

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Denon, del. B. Tanner, Sc.

A Dance of Almées, in an Harem.

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tical considerations and religious scruples of the Sheiks. They made some difficulty, however, and that with a tolerable share of grace, in granting us what we should have considered as the smallest of their favours, that of uncovering the eyes and the mouth. In a little time their forms were completely displayed through coloured gauze fastened by a sash, which they tightened from time to time negligently, and with an air of levity by no means disagreeable, and somewhat *à la française*. They had brought with them two instruments, a pipe and tabor, and a kind of drum, made from an earthen pot, on which the musician beat with his hands. They were seven in number. Two of them began dancing, while the others sung, with an accompaniment of castanets, in the shape of cymbals, and of the size of a crown piece. The movement they displayed in striking them against each other, gave infinite grace to their fingers and wrists. At the commencement the dance was voluptuous: it soon after became lascivious, and expressed, in the grossest and most indecent way, the giddy transports of the passions. The disgust which this spectacle excited, was heightened by one of the musicians of whom I have just spoken, and who, at the moment when the dancers gave the greatest freedom to their wanton gestures and emotions, with the stupid air of a clown in a pantomime, interrupted, by a loud burst of laughter, the scene of intoxication which was to close the dance.

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These dancers swallowed large glasses of brandy as if it had been lemonade. Accordingly, notwithstanding they were all young and handsome, they were haggard and jaded, with the exception of two of them, whose beauty bore so striking a resemblance to that of two of our Paris *belles*, that we all joined in a general exclamation when they disclosed their features. So truly is grace a pure gift of nature, that Josephina and Hanka, who had received no other education than that which is bestowed on the most infamous professions in the most dissolute of cities, when the dance was ended, possessed all the delicacy of manners of the women whom they resembled, and the soft and endearing voluptuousness which they, no doubt, reserve for those on whom they lavish their secret favours. I could have wished, I must confess, that Josephina had not resembled the others in her style of dancing.

Notwithstanding the licentious life of these females, they are introduced into the harems to instruct the young persons of their sex in all that may render them agreeable to their future husbands. They give them lessons of dancing, singing, gracefulness, and, in general, of all voluptuous attainments. It is not surprizing, that with manners which make the principal duty of women to consist in bestowing pleasure, those who follow the profession of gallantry should be the teachers of the fair sex. They are admitted to the festivals which the grandees give to those of their own rank; and when, from time to time, a husband wishes to entertain

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his harem in a particular manner, they are also sent for. This is what composes the subject of Plate XI.

On the following day our attention was occupied by antiquities. We went to Koam-êl-Hhamar, that is to say, the *red mountain*, a name derived, without doubt, from the mound of red bricks with which this ruin is formed. It has no determinate characteristics, and may have belonged either to an ancient city, of which there are no traces of any monuments, or to a modern village, which, having rebelled against the Mamelukes, may have been destroyed by them. We could not find any vestiges of antiquities, notwithstanding it was the wish of Dolomieu and myself to discover there the ancient Metelis, the capital of the *nome* which was so called. The country which we discovered towards the east, beyond Comeh-Lachma, and extending to lake Berelos, is merely an uncultivated morass. We dined at Sindion and slept at Fua. On the following day we proceeded to El-Alavi and Therafa, quitting the road, and proceeding to the north-west, to examine several considerable ruins, which are also, for the reason just given, called Koum-Hhamar-êl-Médyneh. We doubted whether they were the traces of Cabaza, the capital of the cabasitic *nome*, or of Naucratis, which the Milesians had built. We were not more fortunate than on the preceding day, the rubbish being of the same nature; for this is the only name which can be bestowed on a mass of shapeless fragments of pottery,

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and heaps of broken bricks, not one of which was to be found in an entire state. At a distance from thence we discovered nearly two square leagues of barren and uncultivated land, which, in some measure, diminished our expectations relative to the general fecundity of the soil of the Delta. If either of the two cities I have just mentioned stood on this barren ground, on which we could distinguish ruins, it was but unpleasantly situated, and it is certain that it contained no great monument of any description. Notwithstanding the space that they occupy is very considerable, we could perceive nothing but a few artificial streams for irrigation, without any navigable canals. We returned but little satisfied with the result of our researches, not having collected any information which could aid us in those we might undertake in the sequel.

In making this excursion we had quitted the detachment, and proceeded in a direct line towards Desuk, the place of our rendezvous, accompanied by a few guides. We passed through Gabrith, a village fortified with walls and towers, peculiarities which distinguish those that are not on the bank of the Nile beyond Fua. Here the territory was not so well cultivated, and the soil, being more elevated and more difficult to irrigate by means of the watering machines, waits for the inundation to be sown with corn and maize, to which no other crops succeed. In the portions of land of this nature, as soon as the harvest is got in, the ground, abandoned to the piercing rays of the sun, and without one

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reviving drop of moisture to allay its thirst, cracks, and bears the form and semblance of a desert. We passed through Salmie, where we could distinguish all the disasters which our vengeance had occasioned, without being able to notice in the countenances of the inhabitants the traces of any enmity or resentment they might bear us. I could not, however, recollect without emotion, that I was almost alone on a spot where I had seen the principal inhabitants of the country fall some time before. We were face to face, the natives and myself, like parties who had had a law-suit, but whose accounts were not yet settled. I had had repeated occasions to remark that the eastern nations bear no malice for the events of which a state of warfare may have been productive. On this occasion, the inhabitants added, with much generosity and a good grace, a guide to the one who was to conduct us to Mehhâl êl-Malek and the canal of Ssa'idy.

The canal of Ssa'idy is sufficiently wide for the passage of boats from the Nile to lake Berelos. Desuk, a large village, is distant from it about half a league, and has a mosque which is resorted to twice a-year by all the nations of the east, and in which two hundred thousand souls pay their devotions. The *Almés* repair thither from every part of Egypt; and the greatest miracle which is performed by Ibrâhym, who is so devoutly worshipped at Desuk, is to suspend the jealousy of the Mussulmans during the time this kind of festival lasts, and to allow the women the enjoyment of a liberty by

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which they are said to profit in the fullest extent imaginable.

We were informed that a palace had been prepared for the General, and we all occupied it: it consisted of a court, an open gallery, and one room without a door. We devoted the next day to visiting all the villages within the government of General Menou, in the province of Sharkieh, which we had not yet seen. In our way we were to pass by Sanhur-el-Medin, where we were informed were to be seen a number of ruins. Could it be Sais? Our expectations were awakened by the adjunct *el Medin*, meaning "the Great," which it might have acquired from its great antiquity, or the splendour of the ancient Sais, which, according to Strabo, was the metropolis of the whole of this district of lower Egypt. We reached the place by crossing a large and parched plain, which was every hour expecting the inundation of the Nile, the waters of which were already running up the numerous furrows.

Sanhur-el-Medin, however, exhibited nothing but devastation and a heap of shapeless ruins. The fragments of flint and granite stones which we examined could only indicate a few centuries of antiquity, and our careful search over the whole neighbourhood produced nothing of consequence, so that we returned dissatisfied to Desuk, where we spent the night.

The next day we directed our march north-east, towards the interior of the Delta. Having again

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passed Sanhur-el-Medin, we crossed several main inundation canals, which, from the appearance and quality of the water, we supposed might proceed from lake Berelos.

Beyond these canals we found the country already covered with water, though it was four feet higher than the ground which we had left: for the irrigation, which was directed and kept in by the dykes on which we now marched, had to flow over them before it could reach the country through which we had been travelling. These dykes served as roads of communication between the different villages, which appeared as islands rising above the water; and being thus strongly marked out, we flattered ourselves that no interesting object within them would escape our curiosity. We had been told that we should find many antiquities at Schaabas, Ammers, and we advanced towards it along a narrow serpentine dyke, which divided two seas of inundation. To have more time for our observations, we had advanced a league beyond our detachment; a guide on horseback, two guides on foot, a young man from Rosetta, the two Generals Menou and Marmont, a physician who served as our interpreter, a draughtsman, and myself, formed the foremost party of our company; while General Dolomieu, holding by the bridle a vicious horse, and several servants, remained at some distance behind.

Whilst we were observing the advantageous and picturesque situation of Kafr-Schaabas, a hamlet

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a little distance from Schaabas, we saw the physician riding back to us at full gallop, crying out, "They are waiting for us with muskets, and are crying to us, *Erga* (*Halt.*") Our guides wished to parley with them, but they only answered us by discharging their pieces, which, though they were very near us, fortunately did us no injury. We made another attempt to parley, but a second volley warned us not to expose to the enemy's balls the legs of our horses, which were our only resource. As we were returning we perceived another troop of armed men, who were coming up by a road covered with water, and threatened to cut off our only retreat. At this moment the draughtsman was seized with such a degree of terror as to be unable to think and act for himself, and fell helpless from his horse; in vain we tried to remount him, to take him behind one of us, or to persuade him to seize hold of the tail of one of our horses; his last hour was arrived, and without being able to make use of any chance of escape, he remained on the spot, crying out through terror, till his head became the prey of the merciless enemy. In the mean time, those who had first fired at us were coming up, and, to avoid being aimed at, we had only time to gallop through the balls which flew round us on every side. We now met the second party of the enemy, and Dolomieu was mounted on a restive horse with his bridle broken; fortunately I had just time to tie it together for him, and I was directly after repaid for this service; for as I was remounting, I

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saw him fall into a deep hole in which I should have sunk entirely, and from which he escaped by his gigantic stature. I took another direction, crossed a dyke which the enemy had broken, whilst the ground was already covered with water, which came on in torrents in every direction, and at last rejoined our detachment, and we all returned to Kafr-Ammers, which in our rage we were going to take by storm.

It was four in the afternoon when we returned to this village; forty men concealed in a ditch fired on us as we came up, but missed us all, and we were not more successful in returning the fire; they retired, however, to another troop which was waiting for us under the wall, for we now perceived that this village was a small fortress, formed of four curtains, with a tower at each angle, to one of which a castle was connected. This little fort was separated from Schaabas by a canal filled with water, and an esplanade of a thousand toises in length. The commander of the place had hung out the white flag, but the people in the suburbs still continued to fire on us: our first attack failed; the officer charged with directing it was thrown off his horse into the water, and his party had separated in order to pursue the inhabitants, who were carrying away their effects: the two Generals hastened up to remedy this disorder and rally the party, but this movement obliged them to pass under the towers, by which several soldiers were killed or wounded from the fire of the enemy. We

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now turned the fortress, one of the towers had not been armed, and we broke open one of the gates of the town which it defended: thirty soldiers and the General entered; the latter and myself were the only persons of our party that were on horseback, and the houses were so low that we found ourselves a mark for all the three sides of the place: at the instant that I warned General Menou that he was aimed at, his horse was killed on the spot, and by his fall threw his rider into a hole; I thought him dead, and was in vain endeavouring to assist him; when General Marmont and some volunteers came to our assistance and withdrew him; the firing in the mean time, however, was briskly kept up on all sides; but the inhabitants were well armed, under shelter, and were able to take good aim. After several of our party were killed or wounded, we were obliged to retreat. We now renewed the attack with more order on the tower parallel to the former which we had carried; at first the enemy lost several men and abandoned the place, and we began to set fire to the houses in order to approach the fort, but eight of our men having been wounded at the attack of the gate, our position became very hazardous, as we had left thirty men to guard our baggage and had but few with us. At the approach of night the besieged raised loud cries, and shouts, which were answered by the neighbouring villages, who began to collect their forces, in order to relieve their countrymen, and we heard them concert measures to

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force a passage to them. We allowed them to come up, and when near we gave them a volley where we judged it would reach them, and directly after, their war shouts were changed into lamentations, and they retreated. Soon after a deputation arrived from the village of Schaabas, followed by the Sheik himself with his standard: he told us that the people with whom we were engaging were villainous robbers, with whom there was no hope of treating; a native of the country whom we had set free at Malta served as his interpreter; and the Sheik told us in confidence, that if we did not carry the fortress during the night, we should not be strong enough in the morning, and that the people in the neighbourhood would cut off our retreat, by which we should all be killed. Whilst he was giving us this important information, his fine face assumed such an air of compassion, that I could not help sketching his portrait. However, this advice was not to be neglected, especially as we had several wounded men with us, whom we should find much difficulty to convey along a narrow and broken causeway, whilst we were covering our retreat. As we were meditating how we should best secure our retreat from our critical situation, the besieged, favoured by the darkness, pretended to have received assistance, and began a brisk fire on their flank, which they wanted to protect; and at the same time abandoning all their property to the flames, they effected their retreat in profound silence. We only heard them when they were

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obliged to plunge into the water, and we then fired on them at random; and a few camels which had strayed from them, and were returning to the village, convinced us of their flight. Being now masters of the field of battle, we completed the destruction of every thing which would take fire; and our soldiers consoled themselves for the fatigue of the day and night, by loading two hundred asses with two or three thousand fowls and pigeons, and by driving away seven or eight hundred sheep. To us amateurs, however, nothing remained which could make up to our curiosity for this dangerous and fatiguing adventure; our hopes of success had entirely failed, and we collected little, if any thing, worth record for the artist and antiquarian. At day-break we set out on our return without meeting with any further obstacle.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Voyage from Rosetta up the Nile to Cairo....General face of the country....First view of the pyramids.... Cairo....Gardens of Murad-Bey....Journey to the pyramids, and description of them....Sphinx....Manners of the inhabitants of Cairo....Affray in the town, and general rising of the inhabitants....Quelled.... The house of the institute pillaged....Cemetery of the Mamelukes....Death of General Dupuis and Sulkowsky....Kindness of the middle orders of people at Cairo.

On our return to Rosetta we found an order from the commander-in-chief, directing the members of the institute who had remained in that place to proceed to Cairo, to assist in organizing the proceedings and the sittings of that assembly. I embarked the next day with my comrades. In quitting the province of Rosetta we left behind us the richest and most cheerful part of the Delta; for, in ascending the river, after passing Rahmanieh, the sands of the desert sometimes approached to the water's edge on the left bank; the country becomes naked, the trees thinly scattered, and the horizon is marked by an uniform line, which it is almost impossible to represent by the pencil. I took a drawing of Alcan, a village in which the aid-de-camp Julien, and twen-

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ty-five volunteers, had been massacred by the inhabitants. The village had since been burnt, and the people expelled; but innumerable flights of pigeons remained about the ruins, of which they were now the only inhabitants. I also took a view of the village of Demichelat, and the reader may here remark, that the pyramidal form of the ancient Egyptian style of architecture, the regularity of the plan, and the simplicity of the capitals, are sometimes preserved even in the slight modern edifices, and give an air of historical gravity to the villages in Egypt which is not to be found elsewhere.

At more than ten leagues from Cairo we discovered the points of the pyramids piercing the horizon; soon after we saw Mount-Katam, and opposite to it, the chain of hills which separates Egypt from Lybia, and forms a barrier to the banks of the Nile against the sands of the desert; but in this eternal conflict between this destructive scourge and the beneficent river, the inundation of sand often overwhelms the country, changes its fertility to barrenness, drives the labourer from his house, whose walls it covers up, and leaves no other mark of vegetable life than the tops of a few palm-trees, which adds still more to the dreary aspect of destruction.

I felt delighted in seeing these mountains, and visiting monuments, of which both the date and object of construction are lost in the night of past ages; my mind was full of emotion on contemplating these vast scenes, and I regretted the approach

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of the night, which spread a veil over so striking a picture to the imagination, and concealed from me the point of the Delta, where, among other magnificent plans, it was proposed to build a new metropolis for Egypt. At the first dawn of day I again saluted with my eyes the pyramids, and took several views; and it was interesting to see on the surface of the Nile, then at high flood, the different villages glide before the eyes, backed by these monuments, which were destined to record events that gave local interest to every object.

I wished to be able to draw them with that fine transparent hue which they derive from the immense volume of air that surrounds them: this is a peculiarity belonging to these monuments, which they owe to their great elevation; for the vast distance at which they are distinguishable, renders them almost transparent, and the blue tint of the sky causes their angles to appear sharp and well defined, though they have been rounded by the decay of years.

About nine o'clock the noise of cannon announced to us the approach to Cairo, and the feast of the new year, which was then celebrating. In our present position we saw numerous minarets surrounding Mount-Katam, and proceeding from the gardens on the banks of the Nile, whilst Old Cairo, Bulac, and Roda, appearing as part of the town, gave it an appearance of verdure and freshness, and added to its magnificence. As we approached, however, the illusion vanished; every object returning as it were to its proper place, we only saw

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a heap of villages collected near an arid rock; and, I know not why, remote from the beautiful banks of the river.

When I arrived at head-quarters at Cairo, I learnt that the commander-in-chief was then setting out for the pyramids, accompanied by two hundred men, who were to protect them in their researches. I now lamented that I had not known of this expedition a few hours sooner, as I considered it fruitless to set out on such a journey, without being provided with what was requisite, in order to observe these objects of curiosity with advantage; and besides, I was so fatigued with my former journies, that I much wanted to rest all my limbs, so that I had determined to delay this expedition till the astronomers should go to make their observations in these celebrated places.

On leaving table, the General said, "It is impossible to visit the pyramids without an escort, and one cannot often spare for the purpose a detachment of two hundred men." The ascendancy which some minds have over others, at once destroyed all my reasoning; it was this ascendancy which made me a follower from France to Egypt, and it now determined me to be of the party to the pyramids; so, without returning home, I took my road to Old Cairo, and rejoined the comrades with whom I had been sailing up the Nile. It was full night when we got to Gizeh, and I knew not where I should repose; but in wandering about I found myself, by a good fortune which seemed like

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enchantment, in a hall furnished with fine velvet cushions, and scented with the perfume of an orange-grove, which gentle air wafted to us. I went down into the garden, which appeared by moonlight to be worthy the description which Savary has given. This was the pleasure-house of Murad-Bey. I had heard its charms depreciated, and I only now saw it after the march of a victorious army; but I could not help feeling that, without resorting to needless comparisons, the oriental luxuries have their charms, and fill the senses with voluptuous pleasure. We do not here find, indeed, those long alleys which are the pride of the French gardens, nor the serpentine walks of the English, where health and appetite are the reward of the exercise required to survey them; but in the east, where indolent repose forms one of the chief luxuries, the tents or kiosks are pitched under the thick branches of a cluster of sycamores, and open at pleasure upon a fragrant underwood of orange and jessamine. To this is added the voluptuous pleasure of enjoyments still but imperfectly known to us, but which we may easily conceive; such, for instance, as to be attended by young slaves, who unite, to elegance of form, gentle and caressing manners; to be indolently stretched on vast and downy carpets, strewed with cushions, in company with some favourite beauty, breathing perfumes, and intoxicated with desires; to receive sherbet from the hands of a young damsel, whose languishing eyes express the contentment of willing

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obedience, and not the constraint of servitude. Surrounded with these delights; the burning African need not envy the inhabitant of Europe; and man may find happiness wherever there is beauty, and grace, whether in the gardens of Trianon, or reposed on the banks of the Nile.

The officer who commanded the escort happened to be one of my friends; he entered me in the list of those who were bound for the pyramids; we were about three hundred. The next morning, after much waiting to collect the party, we set out, late as generally happens where many are to be put in motion. We sailed through the fields by the inundation trenches, and after tacking often through the cultivated country, we landed about noon on the borders of the desert, half a league from the pyramids. I took several views of them in different positions as we approached.

As soon as we quitted our boats we found ourselves in the sands, and climbed the level on which these monuments rest. In approaching these stupendous buildings, their sloping and angular forms disguise their real height, and lessen it to the eye; and besides, as every thing regular is only great or small by comparison, and as these masses of stone eclipse in magnitude every surrounding object, and yet are much inferior to a mountain (the only thing with which our imagination can compare them) one is surprized to find the first impression given by viewing them at a distance, so much diminished on a nearer approach. However, on attempting to

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measure any one of these gigantic works of art by some known scale, it resumes its immensity to the mind; for, as I approached to the opening, a hundred persons who were standing under it appeared so small, that I could hardly take them for men. It would be a good method for the artist to give an idea of the dimension of these edifices, by representing, on the same ground-plan as the building, some procession or religious ceremony analogous to the ancient customs. As it is, these monuments standing alone, and without any living scale of comparison, excepting a few detached figures in front, lose both the effect of their grand proportions, and the general impression which they would otherwise make. We have a good example of comparison in Europe in St. Peter's church at Rome, the magnitude of which is concealed by the exquisite harmony of proportion, and the crossing of the general outline, till the eye descends to a procession of the religious orders celebrating mass, and followed by a train of worshippers, which in this situation appears like a group of puppets attempting to act Athalia on the theatre of Versailles. Another point of resemblance between these two edifices is, that nothing but the despotism of a sacerdotal government could venture to undertake them, nor any thing but the stupid fanaticism of a people would submit to the labour of building. But to return to the actual state of the pyramids; let us first ascend a small heap of sand and rubbish, which is, perhaps, the remains of the trench of the first of these edi-

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fices which presents itself, and which now leads to the opening through which it may be reached. This opening, which is nearly sixty feet from the base, is concealed by a general stone-facing, which forms the third or inner inclosure to the solitary entrenchment around this monument. Here begins the first gallery; its direction lies towards the centre and base of the edifice; but the rubbish, which has been but ill cleared out, or which, owing to the natural slope, has fallen back again into the gallery, added to the sand daily drifted in by the north wind, and which is never forced out again, has so blocked up the passage as to render it very inconvenient to cross. At the extremity of this gallery two large blocks of granite are met with, which form a second partition to this mysterious passage.

This obstacle appears to have perplexed all those who have undertaken the research, and has led to several random attempts to surmount it. Endeavours have been made by former visitors to cut a passage through the solid stone, but this proving unsuccessful, they have returned some way, have passed round two blocks of stone, climbed over them, and thus discovered a second gallery of so steep an ascent, that it has been necessary to hew steps in the ground in order to mount it. This gallery leads to a kind of landing-place, in which is a hole usually called "the well," which is the opening to a horizontal gallery leading to a chamber known by the name of "the queen's chamber,"

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without ornament, cornice, or any inscription whatever.

Returning to the landing-place, a perpendicular opening leads to the grand gallery, which terminates in a second landing-place, on which is the third and last partition, constructed with much more art, and which gives a striking idea of the importance which the Egyptians attached to the inviolability of their places of sepulture.

Lastly comes the royal chamber, containing the sarcophagus, a narrow sanctuary, which is the sole end and object of an edifice so stupendous, so colossal, in comparison of all the other works of man.

In reflecting on the object of the construction of the pyramids, the gigantic pride which gave them birth appears more enormous even than their actual dimensions; and one hardly knows which is the most astonishing, the madness of tyrannical oppression, which dared to order the undertaking, or the stupid servility of obedience in the people who submitted to the labour. In short, the most favourable view, for the honour of human nature, in which these monuments can be considered is, that man was thereby ambitious of rivalling nature in immensity and eternity, and not without success, since the mountains contiguous to these edifices are less high, and still less exempted from the ravages of time than this work of human hands.

We had only two hours to devote to the pyramids, and I had employed an hour and a half in visiting the interior of the only one which was

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open: I had stretched all my attention to retain what I had seen; I had taken drawings and measurements as well as I was able with a single foot ruler; in short, I had filled my head, and I hoped to bring away many observations worthy of remark; but on recalling them to memory the next morning, I found I had a volume of queries still to make. I returned from my journey harrassed and agitated, and found my curiosity more stimulated than satisfied by my visit to the pyramids.

I had only time to view the sphinx, which deserves to be drawn with a more scrupulous attention than has ever yet been bestowed upon it. Though its proportions are colossal, the outline is pure and graceful; the expression of the head is mild, gracious, and tranquil; the character is African; but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, has a softness and delicacy of execution truly admirable; it seems real life and flesh. Art must have been at a high pitch when this monument was executed; for, if the head wants what is called *style*, that is to say, the straight and bold lines which give expression to the figures under which the Greeks have designated their deities, yet sufficient justice has been rendered to the fine simplicity and character of nature which is displayed in this figure.

I had just snatched a glance of the tombs, of small temples, decorated with bass-reliefs and statues, of niches in the rock, which might have broken the massiveness of the pyramids, and given them

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elegance; but so many objects worthy of investigation remained, that it would have required many such visits as the present to have undertaken even a sketch of them, much more to have endeavoured to remove the mysterious cloud which for ages has hung over these symbolical monuments. Almost the same uncertainty exists as to the time in which they were first violated, as even that of their construction; the latter, which is lost in the night of ages, gives an immense period to the annals of art; and in this view we cannot too much admire the accuracy of the pyramidal structure, the permanency secured by their form and construction, and by such immense proportions, that these gigantic monuments may be considered as the last link in the chain of the colossi of art and nature.

Herodotus relates, that he was informed that the great pyramid, of which I have just been speaking, was the tomb of Cheops; that the adjoining pyramid was that of his brother Cephrenes, who succeeded him; that only the former had any inner galleries; that an hundred thousand men had been employed twenty years in building it; that the immense labour which it required had rendered this prince odious to his people; and that, notwithstanding the taxes which were levied on his subjects, the expence for the subsistence of the workmen alone was so enormous, that the prince was obliged to prostitute his daughter to finish this monument; and that the receipts of this prostitution were so great as to enable the princess, besides, to build

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the small pyramid adjoining, which served for her own tomb. We may add, that Cheops, having shut up the temples during his reign, found after his death no panegyrist among the priests, who were the historians of Egypt, and who related many idle fables to Herodotus, the first historian who has given us any light on this country.

I had resided nearly a month at Cairo, and I still had to seek for "the superb town, the holy city, the delight of the imagination, greatest among the great, whose splendour and opulence made the prophet smile," for thus the eastern people describe it. I did indeed see a numerous population, and a vast extent of buildings, but not a single handsome street, nor one fine monument. The only large place was Lelbequier, the residence of Bonaparte; and this too has the air of a field, but during the inundation it pleases by its agreeable coolness, and by the night excursions which are there made in boats that have a striking effect. The palaces of this town are all surrounded by walls, which render the streets gloomy, instead of enlivening them; and the habitations of the poor, which are still more neglected here than in other parts of the country, add to the afflicting view of extreme poverty, though the climate allows of much carelessness in the article of shelter, so that one is tempted to ask where were the houses inhabited by twenty-four sovereigns. However, within these fortified palaces, some convenience and luxury is to be found; they are adorned with handsome marble

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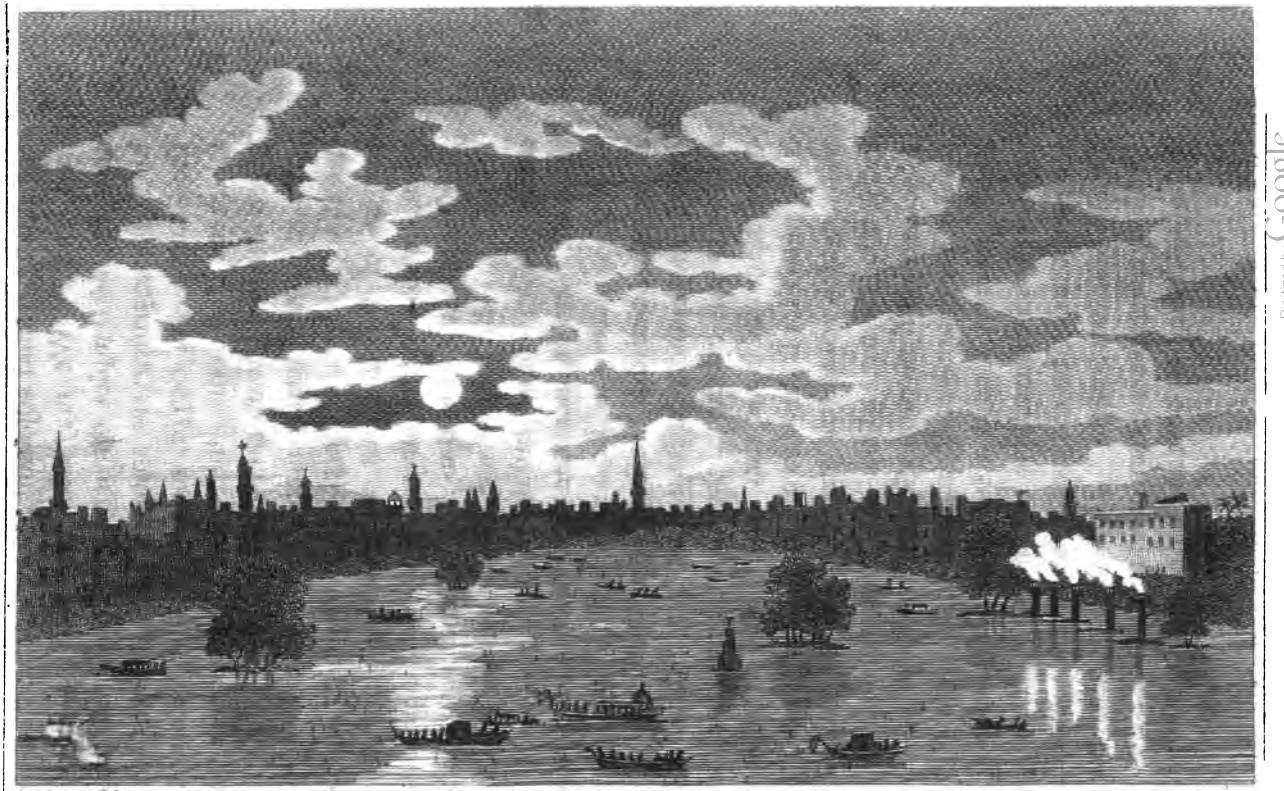

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View of Elbequier at Cairo.

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baths, and voluptuous vapour-stoves, with mosaic saloons, in the middle of which are basons and fountains of water, large divans composed of tufted carpets, raised beds covered with rich stuffs, and surrounded with magnificent cushions, which generally fill three sides of each room. The windows, however, when there are any, never open, and the daylight which they admit is darkened by coloured glasses, and very close lattice-work, for the light principally comes in through a dome in the center of the ceiling. The Mussulmans, who make but little use of the light, take very little pains to procure it in their houses, and in general all their customs seem to invite to repose; their divans, where the recumbent posture is more easy than to sit up, and from which it requires a serious effort, to a Turk, to rise; their dress, which is a kind of close petticoat that confines the legs; their large gloves, which stretch nearly eight inches over the fingers' ends; their turban, which prevents the head from stooping; their custom of always holding a pipe in their hands, and intoxicating themselves with its smoke;....all these circumstances conspire to destroy activity and immagination, so that they meditate without an object, pass every day in the same tasteless manner, and even their whole existence without seeking for any new object to relieve its dull monotony. Even that class of society who are obliged to work for their livelihood, are not much different from the higher orders that I have just described; they have been long taught to expect no

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other reward from industry than a bare subsistence, and thus they have no motive to depart from their ordinary routine, and to exercise their invention. They even dislike particularly every occupation which keeps them standing; the joiner, blacksmith, carpenter, farrier, all work sitting, even the mason raises a minaret without standing to his work; like savage nations they do every thing almost with a single tool, so that one is surprized at the dexterity with which they manage it, and should almost be tempted to allow them inventive ingenuity, if their invariable method of proceeding did not rather lead one to attribute it almost to a kind of instinct; like the insect whose workmanship we admire, whilst we know that it has not the power of applying the same skill to different purposes. It is, however, to a despotism which always commands, and never rewards, that we must look for the source and permanent cause of this stagnation of industry. I have since seen, in upper Egypt, Arabian artizans, when not under the restraint of their masters, coming to offer their services to the workmen among our soldiers, assisting them in their operations, and, sure of wages adequate to their industry, endeavouring assiduously to give us satisfaction by patient and active services. I have also observed them examine with delight the play of the windmill, and watch with transport the stroke of the pile-driver: perhaps, indeed, their innate indolence is a secret cause of their great admiration of these two machines, which assist so

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much in performing the great objects of their most necessary labour, that of raising water and building dykes to keep it in.

The inhabitants of this country build as little as possible, and repair still less. If a wall threatens to come down, they prop it up; if, notwithstanding, it falls in, it only makes the fewer rooms in the house, and they quietly range their carpets by the side of the ruins; if at last the house falls altogether, they either abandon the spot, or if they are obliged to clear it out, they carry away the rubbish to as little a distance as possible, which is the cause that in almost every town of Egypt, and especially in Cairo, the eye of the traveller is constantly arrested by heaps or rather mountains of rubbish scattered about, the cause of which he is at a loss to discover.

There are some considerable edifices at Cairo, which I think should be attributed to the times of the Caliphs; such as the palace of Joseph, the well of Joseph, the granaries of Joseph, all of which have been spoken of by various travellers, and by some the popular tradition has been retained of these monuments owing their origin to the foresight of Joseph, the slave of Potiphar. Were this the case, Cairo should be as ancient as Memphis, and the remains of other towns should be found near this city, since these palaces are all built of ruins more ancient than the edifices themselves. Besides, these structures all bear the general marks of the Mussulman architecture of these re-

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gions; that is to say, they present an assemblage of magnificence, misery, and ignorance, as these half-barbarians have taken for the construction of their vast buildings the materials which were the nearest to their reach, and used them as they came to their hands.

The aqueduct which brings water from old Cairo to the castle, by a route of an hundred and sixty fathoms, would be a work of art worth celebrating, if in its course it was not rendered faulty by many imperfections.

The castle, which is built without plan, or any real strength or defence, has, however, some parts which are well laid out. The Bashaw here resided, or rather was shut up; the only remarkable room in his quarter is the hall of the divan, in which the Beys assembled, and which has often been the scene of angry debates and bloody strife in this contentious government. Joseph's well, which is in this quarter, is cut in the rock, two hundred and sixty-nine feet in depth: Norden has given a full description of it. Joseph's palace, which I have just mentioned, is certainly planned in a fine style, and I could not see, without some admiration, the use which the Arabian architects have made of the antique fragments, which they have incorporated in their own works, and the ingenuity which they have shewn in occasionally mixing with them ornaments of their own invention.

At present, as the Turks no longer find ready to their hands the columns of ancient Egyptian

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architecture, and yet continue to build mosques without clearing away those which fall to ruins, they commission the Franks to send them columns by the dozen. These purchase them of every size at Carara; and when the columns arrive at Egypt, the Mussulman architects surround the astragals with rings of iron, and employ them to support the arches of the porticoes of their mosques. The pillars are in a very miserable style of Greek architecture; and the Saracen ornaments, which begin immediately beyond the columns, contribute to form a mixture of composition in as bad a taste as can be imagined. The minarets and the tombs are the only buildings which preserve the Arabian style in any degree of purity; and if they do not present that appearance of full security, which is the perfection of architecture, at least they gratify the eye by a richness of ornament, which does not degenerate into heaviness, and a symmetry of parts combined with so much elegance, as to remove all idea of meanness and poverty of style. The cemetery of the Mamelukes is an example of this: in quitting the rubbish of Cairo, the stranger is astonished to see another town all built of white marble, where edifices raised on columns, and terminated by domes, or by painted, carved, and gilt palanquins, form a cheerful and inviting picture; trees alone are wanting to render this funeral retreat a delightful spot; so that it would seem as if the Turks, who banish gaiety from their houses

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when alive, wished to bury it with them in the tomb.

I was finishing my drawing of this sanctuary of death, so absurdly gay, when I heard loud cries, which I at first took to be some funeral, attended by hired female mourners, as is the custom here; but on turning my eyes, I saw a number of women running away, and making a sign for me to follow them. The idea of the scourge of the country at first rushed into my mind, but seeing the ground clear for a considerable distance, and no Arabs collecting, I resumed my drawing. Directly after, however, I saw several men also flying off, and, being at a considerable distance from our own posts, I thought it most prudent to return. I found some agitation in the streets, and surprize in the looks of the inhabitants. When arrived at my house, I learnt that there had been an affray in the town, and that the Governor had been assassinated. The noise of firing was heard, and we were alarmed for the house of the Institute, which was situated in the midst of gardens looking towards the country, and enjoyed in times of peace a delightful tranquillity, but for the same reason was the first quarter of the suburbs to be abandoned in any serious disturbance, or if attacked by the Arabs: towards the town it only looked upon the part inhabited by the poorest class, and consequently the most to be feared. We learned that the house of General Cassarelli had just been pillaged, and that many persons in it belonging to the commission of arts

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had fallen victims to the fury of the populace. We immediately made a muster of our own party, and we found four absent, who, as we learned an hour after from our people, had been massacred. We had no intelligence of Bonaparte; night was coming on, firing was heard in different places, and cries every where; in short, we feared a general insurrection.

General Dumas, in returning from his pursuit of the Arabs, had made a great carnage of the rebels in entering the town, and had cut off the head of a seditious chief whilst he was harranguing the people; but a full half of the town, and that the most populous, was barricaded up; more than four thousand inhabitants were entrenched in a mosque; two companies of grenadiers had been repulsed, and the cannon had not been able to penetrate into those narrow and crooked streets, whilst the enemy, unseen and protected in their houses, were able to throw stones and lances on our party with safety and effect. The General had sent for our protection a detachment, which, however, he was obliged to withdraw about midnight, and this for a time aggravated the danger to which the Institute was exposed. The night, however, passed quietly enough, for the Turks do not like to fight after dark, and make a point of conscience not to kill their enemies when the sun is gone down: and, on the other hand, I, who have always thought that in perilous situations, prudence, when it can do nothing, becomes a painful trouble, lay down

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to rest, trusting to the terror of others to awake me in case of alarm.

Early the next morning the war re-commenced: muskets were sent us; all the members of the Institute took up arms, and chose them leaders; but every one had his own plan of operations, and no one would obey. Dolomieu, Cordier, Delisle, Saint-Simon and myself, lodged at a distance from the others; our house might have been pillaged by any one who would take the trouble; but as sixty men had been sent to the assistance of our comrades, we became easy on their account, and set about entrenching ourselves in the best manner we could, so as to hold out at least four hours, if attacked by only a moderate force, that we might have time to procure relief by the alarm of our firing.

At one time we thought we were actually invested; for we saw the peaceable inhabitants fly, and we heard the noise of arms reach up to our walls, and the bullets whistle on our terraces. We immediately pulled them to pieces, to give us materials for knocking down and crushing any enemy who might attempt to force our gates; and at an extremity we could even use as a weapon of offence the ladder which served for mounting to our chamber. In the midst of our danger, however, the heavy artillery of the castle made the diversion in our favour, which I so anxiously expected; it produced all the effect which I looked for, and consternation succeeded to rage. The artillery, how-

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ever, could not reach the mosque, which was now the only rallying point of our enemies, all the rest having surrendered at discretion: but the mosque itself was soon turned, and a battery taught the enemy that our warfare did not stop with the day; as a last effort, they now pulled down their barricades and made a sortie; but being repulsed, they surrendered. The rest of the night passed quietly, and the next day we were at liberty.

We had in fact now, for the first time, conquered Cairo, for before it had only surrendered to the conqueror of the Mamelukes: the timid and indolent Egyptians had smiled with satisfaction at the expulsion of their oppressors, who had harrassed them with numberless vexations and acts of injustice; but when they were called on to pay their deliverers, they soon began to regret their former tyrants: and, on recovering from their first panic, they had listened to their mufti, who found means to animate them against us with a fanatic enthusiasm, and they had conspired in silence. For our own security we ought, perhaps, to have spared none who had seen French soldiers retire discomfited; but our clemency anticipated their repentance: and thus the desire of revenge in our enemies was not extinguished by their consternation, which I could read the next day in the attitude and countenance of the malecontents; and I was convinced, that if, before the day of this engagement, we had been encompassed by a circle of Arabs, we were

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now confined within narrower limits, and should always be obliged to march through domestic foes.

Some traitors were indeed arrested and punished, but the mosques which had been the asylum of crimes were restored, and the pride of the offenders was heightened by the act of condescension, whilst their fanaticism was not subdued by their terror. Whatever representation could be made to Bonaparte of the danger of such a line of conduct with the rebels, nothing could shake the sentiments of humanity which he displayed in this event; he wished to shew as much clemency as he could excite terror, and the past was forgotten, whilst we had to lament many and serious losses.

General Dupuis, an excellent captain, who, for two years had braved the dangers that beset the path of glory in the brilliant campaigns of Italy, was assassinated at this time, whilst reconnoitering, by a cowardly blow. A knife fastened to the end of a stick was thrown down from a window, cut the artery of his arm, and he expired in a few moments: the young and brave Sulcowsky, who was hardly recovered from the wounds he received in the romantic battle of Salager, went to reconnoitre the enemy, whom he discovered, attacked, defeated, and pursued, in spite of a great disproportion of numbers, but unfortunately falling into an ambuscade, his horse was pierced with a lance, fell upon him, and in this situation he was crushed by one who was hastening to his assistance. Thus perished a most distinguished officer in the army, an

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acute observer on the march, an intrepid warrior in the battle; his pen relieved his hand from the fatigues of the sword; he had just described the march to Belbeys with as much grace and interest as another would have related the glorious share which he had in that expedition, and the honourable wounds which he received: this much-lamented young foreigner, ambitious of glory, sought it in our battalions; suppressing the vivacity of his character, he modelled his actions from those of the leader whom he had chosen to follow: and thus jealous of distinguishing himself, he had set before his eyes the measure of his emulation. I had been entrusted with all the passions of his youth, I continued to admire his noble ambition, for it was by study and real merit that he wished to rise. He had just been interesting me by his energy and the free confidence of friendship, when the news of his death came to distress and agitate my mind; he was one of the most amiable of the officers of the army, and his death cast a melancholy cloud on the victory of the twenty-third of October.

Though the populace, the devotees, and some of the great people of Cairo, shewed themselves fantastical and cruel in this revolt, the middle class (which is in all countries the most accessible to reason and virtue) was perfectly humane and generous to us, notwithstanding the wide differences of manners, religion, and language: whilst from the galleries of the minarets murder was devoutly preached up, whilst the streets were filled with

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death and carnage, all those in whose houses any Frenchmen were lodged, were eager to save them by concealment, and to supply and anticipate all their wants: an elderly woman in the quarter in which we lodged gave us to understand, that as our wall was but weak, if we were attacked, we had only to throw it down, and to seek for shelter in her harem; a neighbour, without being asked, sent us provision at the expence of his own store, when no food was to be purchased in the town, and every thing announced approaching famine; he even removed every thing from before our house which could render it conspicuous to the enemy, and went to smoke at our door, as if it was his own, in order to deceive any that might attack us: two young persons who were pursued in the streets were snatched up by some unknown people and carried into a house, and, whilst they were furiously struggling for deliverance, expecting that they were destined for some horrible cruelty, the kind ravishers, not being able otherwise to convince them of the hospitable benevolence of their intentions, delivered up to them their own children as pledges of their sincerity. Many other such anecdotes could be given of delicate sensibility, which recall the feelings of human nature in the times in which they seem to be entirely abandoned. If the grave Mussulman represses those tokens of sensibility which other nations would take a pride in exhibiting, it is in order to preserve the dignified austerity of his character.

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CHAPTER IX.

Mummies of the ibis in the vaults of Saccara, and conjectures concerning that bird....Curious juggling tricks of the Psylli with serpents....Great utility of the ass in Egypt....Caravan from Mount Sinai....Pyramids on the plain of Saccara, and near Memphis....Various Egyptian villages and manners of the inhabitants....Tents of Bedouin Arabs....Superstitious ceremonies, &c. of the natives....March of Desaix's army to upper Egypt in pursuit of Murad-Bey....Various severe encounters with the Mameluke army....Desperate battle of Sedinan, and flight of the Mamelukes.

To return to the objects of curiosity. The vaults of Saccara had just been opened, and more than five hundred mummies of the ibis had been found in a sepulchral cave. Two had been given me, and I could not resist the desire of opening one of them, so citizen Geoffroi and myself sat down alone at a table, with all the necessary means of research before us, and myself, with my pencil in my hand.

There is a considerable variety in the degree of care bestowed in embalming these birds, so that in fact nothing but the earthen pot in which the whole is contained is common to all. This difference and pains bestowed on mummies taken

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from the same cave, proves that the price of the work varied considerably for these birds as well as for men, and consequently that it was done at the expence of individuals; and also it may be presumed that the embalmed birds had not all been fed in temples, or colleges of priests, in reward of services rendered by the whole species.

If the same had been the case with these birds as with the god Apis, a single individual would have sufficed, and these pots would not be found by thousands. We may then suppose that the ibis, as it destroys all reptiles, was in great veneration in a country in which these noxious animals abound at a certain time of the year; and, like the stork in Holland, this bird growing tame from the good reception which it met with every where, each house had its own winged inmates of this species, to which, after their death, the honours of sepulture were given according to the means of the inhabitants. Herodotus relates, that he was informed that in the earliest times of the records of the country, the ibis abounded every where, but that in proportion as the marshes of upper Egypt were drained, the birds retired to the lower province in quest of their food; which agrees well enough with the report of modern travellers, that they are still seen occasionally in the lake Menzaleh. If the number had so much diminished even in the time of Herodotus, it is not surprizing that its existence at present has been considered as almost problematical.

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Herodotus relates, that the priests of Heliopolis informed him, that on the retreat of the waters of the Nile, clouds of winged serpents arrived by the vallies which separate Egypt from Arabia, and that the ibis went out to meet and feed on them; and he adds, that he had never seen these winged serpents, but that he had gone into the vallies, and had seen their skeletons in innumerable quantity. I think (with submission to the patriarch of history) that it was not necessary to create this fable of dragons from Arabia, in order to render the ibis a valuable animal to Egypt, which produces of itself so many noxious reptiles; but the respectable Herodotus was a Greek, and fond of the marvellous.

The serpent, though not winged, is still the object of some sorcery in Egypt. I was with the commander-in-chief one day, when the Psylli were introduced, and we put many questions to them relative to the mystery of their sect, and the supposed command over serpents which they appear to possess. They answered our questions with more assurance than intelligence, but we put them to the proof: "Can you tell us," said the General, "whether there are any serpents in the palace, and if there are, can you oblige them to come forth from their retreats?" They answered both questions in the affirmative; and we put them to the proof: on which they searched all the rooms, and presently after they declared that there was a snake in the house; they then renewed their search to discover where he was hid, made some

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convulsions in passing before a jar placed in a corner of one of the rooms, and declared that the animal was there; where, indeed, we actually found one. This was a true Comus's trick; we looked at each other, and acknowledged that they were very adroit.

Being always curious to observe the means by which men command the opinions of others, I regretted that I was not at Rosetta at the procession of the feast of Ibrahim, in which the convulsions of the Psylli form the most entertaining part, to the populace, of this religious ceremony. To make up for my loss, I addressed myself to the chief of the sect, who was keeper of the *okel* or tavern of the Franks; I flattered him; and he promised to make me a spectator of the exaltation of one of the Psylli, as soon as he should have *bleum into his spirit*, as he expressed it. From my curiosity he thought I bid fair to be a proselyte, and he proposed to initiate me, which I accepted; but when I learned that in the ceremony of initiation the grand-master spits in the mouth of the neophyte, this circumstance cooled my ardour, and I found that I could not prevail on myself to go through this trial; so I gave my money to the high-priest, and he promised to let me see one of the inspired.

They had brought with them their serpents, which they let loose from a large leather sack in which they were kept, and made them erect their bodies and hiss, by irritating them. I remarked that it was the light which principally caused their

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anger, for as soon as they were returned into the sack their passion ceased, and they no longer endeavoured to bite. It was also curious to observe, that, when angry, the neck for six inches below the head was dilated to the size of one's hand. I soon saw that even I could manage the serpents perfectly well without fear of their fangs; for having well remarked that the Psylli, while they were threatening the animal with one hand, seized it on the back of the head with the other: I did the same with one of the serpents with equal success, though much to the indignation of the performers themselves. After this, they proceeded to the grand mystery: one of the performers took a snake, which he had previously disabled by breaking the under jaw, and by rubbing away the gums till the whole of the palate was destroyed; he then grasped it with the appearance of passion, and approached the chief, who with great gravity gave him the *spirit*, that is to say, after uttering some mysterious words, blew into his mouth; and, at the instant, the other was seized with a sacred convulsion, his arms and legs distorted, his eyes seeming to start from his head, and he began to tear the animal with his teeth; whilst the two attendants, appearing to commiserate his sufferings, restrained his struggles with difficulty, and snatched from his hand the serpent, which he was unwilling to let go. As soon as the snake was removed, he remained as if stupid; but the chief approached him, muttered some words to him, retook from him the spirit by aspiration, and

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he returned to his natural state. Now, however, he that had seized the snake beginning to be tormented with the same ardour to consummate the mystery, came up to the chief to demand the spirit; and as he was stronger and more active than the first, his cries and convulsions were still more violent and ridiculous. I had now seen enough of the initiation, and thus ended this gross juggling.

In these countries the sect Psylli boasts a very high origin: it was particularly prevalent at Cyrenaica; and the god Knuphis, or the architect of the universe, according to Strabo and Eusebius, was adored at Elephantina under the figure of a serpent.

From the time of the serpent of Eden to that of Achmin, mentioned by Savary, this reptile has enjoyed uninterrupted celebrity: after having tempted our first mother, the apple was taken away from him; when making a circle with his tail in his mouth he has become the symbol of eternity; when coiled round a staff, he is the god of health; the Egyptians, by twining two of them round a globe, have represented, perhaps, the equilibrium of the system of the world; the Indians put him in the hands of all their divinities; we have made him the representative of justice and prudence; the Jews have had their brazen serpent; the Greeks that of Elermis and the Python; and in later times, the Mussulmans have their harrili, the deflowerer; and yet so many illustrations have changed nothing of the nature of this wise animal; he continues to

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court obscurity, and avoid the light, and never raises his head to more than half his height. Why, then, all this celebrity, and this religious observance unanimously bestowed on this reptile?

The camels do all the office of carts at Cairo; they bring thither all the provisions, and carry away the filth: the saddle-horses and asses are chiefly devoted to transporting passengers from place to place, and they are seen in every street saddled, bridled, and always ready to start. The ass, which in Europe and the northern countries is heavy and dull, appears quite in its natural climate in Egypt; and it here enjoys all its powers in full perfection; it is healthy, active, and cheerful, the mildest and safest animal to mount that one can possibly have; his natural pace is an amble or a gallop, and, without fatiguing his rider, he carries him rapidly over the large plains which lie between different parts of this straggling city. This mode of conveyance was so agreeable to me, that I spent almost the whole day on the back of asses; I became known to all the people who let them out for hire, and these were so used to my habits, as to carry for me my drawing port-folio and chair, and served all the day as my valets; and by double wages I could get them to attend me mounted as I was, and thus I passed from place to place as rapidly as on the best horses, and could continue my employments a much longer time.

In this manner, during one of my tours, I took a drawing of the canal which brings water to the Nile during the time of the inundation.

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Being commissioned by the Institute to give a report of the different columns in the vicinity of Cairo, I made several drawings of those objects that I judged the most worthy of note.

I found myself very comfortable at Cairo, but it was not to loiter here that I had quitted Paris. An Arabian caravan arrived from Mount Sinai, bringing charcoal, gum, and almonds; it consisted of five hundred men and seven hundred camels. It was certainly an expensive way of transporting merchandize which would sell for so little, but the owners were in want of articles which they could not procure elsewhere, and they had only charcoal to give in exchange. Some of their countrymen, a month before, had endeavoured to learn of the Greeks whether the French, who were now masters of Cairo, did not devour Arabs; but as they were very well treated they now arrived in crowds. The commander-in-chief wished some one to take advantage of their return, to gain information concerning the route of Tor, and I was tempted to take this ancient journey of the Israelites, and offered my services to the General, provided he would ensure my return. He told me he would keep the captain of the caravan as a hostage for me, but smiled at my idea, that I should become acquainted in twelve days with the particulars of the wonderful part of the expedition of Moses, from the time of his departure from Memphis to his arrival at the desert of Pharan; and, without a residence of forty years, that I should visit Mount Sinai,

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and cross a part of the world, the annals of which mount to the highest antiquity, the cradle of three religions, and the native country of three legislators, all descended from the family of Abraham, who have governed the opinions of the world.

But as soon as I made the proposals to the Arab chief, he told me that for all the gold in the world he would not take the charge of me; that it would be risking both my life, that of all the monks in Mount Sinai, and of every individual of his caravan, because two powerful tribes, the Ovatis and the Ayaïdis, had vowed vengeance against the French. I was telling this to the commander-in-chief, just as he was sending off a convoy to Desaix; and as I was set upon going to the east, I asked of him a passport southwards, and in a few hours I was actually on my journey.

The next morning at day-break we were still a league short of Saccarah, as we had been slack of wind, and had only made four leagues during the night. I took a view of the pyramids of this place, as far as I could distinguish them, which at this distance seemed to occupy a space of two leagues. Though so far from the river, I could distinguish that the nearest, which is of middling size, is composed of stages rising one above the other: after this come to view other small pyramids almost destroyed; half a league further is one whose base seems as wide as those of Gizeh, but of less elevation, and but little decayed; half a league still further is the largest of all those of Saccarah, whose

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form is irregular, that is, the line of the terminating angle is sloped like a buttress reversed; close to this is a smaller one; and another nearer to the Nile, which is absolutely in ruins, and looks like a brown grey rock, owing, I suppose, to the materials being unburnt brick; and the shore of the river probably concealed others from my view.

This multitude of pyramids scattered over the district of Saccarah, the plain of the monks, and the caves of the ibis, all prove that this territory was the Necropolis to the south of Memphis, and that the village opposite to this, in which the pyramids of Gizeh are situated, was another Necropolis (or city of the dead) which formed the northern extremity of Memphis, and by these we may measure the extent of this ancient city.

In the afternoon, opposite Missenda, we saw another very large pyramid, but so shattered, that in any other country but Egypt, at the great distance at which it is seen from the river, it would be taken for a small hill. A league further there is another still larger and more shapeless. The small islands at this part of the river we found covered with ducks, herons, and pelicans.

In the evening we saw the pyramid of Meidum between the villages of Rigga and Caffr-el-Risk.

In the night we arrived at Saoyeh, and General Belliard obligingly offered to share his dwelling with me, which indeed was small enough, as our beds filled the whole room, and we were obliged to turn them out when we wanted to set up our table,

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and again to remove the table when we had occasion for our beds. This union proved as happy as it was close, for we did not quit each other's society during the whole campaign; and I wish he may have retained as agreeable a remembrance of me, as the gentleness, equability, and unalterable kindness of his character have left in my own breast. The second night both our kitchen and our stable were overthrown; but, as phlegmatic as Mussulmans, we did not think of quitting the place; and besides, notwithstanding this accident, our dwelling was the best and the most respectable in appearance of the whole village. In this part of Egypt all the buildings are made of mud and chopped straw dried in the sun; the stairs, window openings, hearths, utensils, and even furniture, are all of the same simple material; so that if it were possible that the invariable order of climate which nature has fixed here should be for a moment changed, and that unusual winds should arrest and dissolve in rain some of those groups of clouds which the north wind is perpetually driving over their heads in summer towards the mountains of Abyssinia, the towns and villages would be softened down and liquefied in a few hours so completely, that corn might be sown on the spot where they stood; but thanks to the climate, a house built of this frail material will generally last the life of the builder, which is amply sufficient for the man whose son must ransom from the sovereign the ground for which his father has already paid.

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The day after my arrival, a column of three hundred men went out to raise the *miri* or land-tax, and a requisition of buffaloes and horses. In this respect we followed the example of the Mamelukes, each of whom, with the same view, used always, in the province allotted to him, to take the same military promenade, encamping before the towns and villages, and living at free quarters till the requisition was complied with. This calls to mind what Diodorus Siculus says of the Egyptians, that they think themselves dupes when they pay what they owe, before they are forced to it by blows. I may remark too, that, without ever refusing payment, there was no ingenious device which they omitted in order to delay, at least for some hours, the seizure of their money.

The progress of this column gave me an excellent opportunity of making discoveries, and of observing the peculiarities of the interior of the country. The first journey brought me near the pyramid of Meidum, which I had already seen at a distance; I was now no more than half a league off it, but was separated from it by the canal of Jusef, and another smaller one, and we were not provided with a boat. However, with the assistance of an excellent glass, and as clear fine weather as possible, I was able to make my observations upon it almost as well as if I touched it. It is built on a platform made by one of the secondary hills of the Lybian chain. The form of the pyramid is five large retreating steps or stages; the

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calcareous stone of which it is composed is more or less friable; the base and the lowest stage are more worn than any of the others, and in the middle of the second state several courses have undergone the same decay. In passing from the village of Meidum to that of Sapht, I had an opportunity of observing three sides of this pyramid; and it appears that an opening has been attempted at the second stage on the north side: the rubbish, covered with drifted sand, rises as high as this opening, and covers all but the angles of the first stage. The ruin begins at the third stage, of which about a third part remains: the entire height of all that is left of this pyramid appears to be about two hundred feet.

All the country which we passed was abundantly fertile, and sown with wheat, sainfoin, barley, beans, lentiles, and *doura* or *sorgo*, which is a kind of millet, cultivated almost universally in upper Egypt. Whilst the grain of this plant is still milky, the peasants roast it like maize, they chew the green stalk like the sugar cane; the leaves are food for cattle; and the medulla or pith, when dry, serves for tinder; the cane supplies the place of wood for firing and heating the ovens; flour is made of the grain itself, and cakes of the flour, but none of all these parts are good.

Between Meidum and Sapht I found the ruins of a mosque, among which were large columns of cipoline marble: could this be remains of the ancient Nicopolis? However, I found in the neighbourhood

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no fragments of wall which could indicate the existence of any antiquity.

From Sapht we went to an adjoining hamlet, which is a kind of mud fortress. This feudal retreat was formed of an enclosure crossed by some streight streets, and within was a small castle, in which the Kiachef resided, which was embattled, and contained a covered way full of loop-holes; the Kiachef, however, had emigrated, and his satellites dispersed, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages had taken their revenge by pillaging his houses.

Our second expedition was to Meimund, a very rich village, with ten thousand inhabitants. Like all the rest, it is surrounded with dunghills and heaps of rubbish, which, in such a flat country as this, form so many hills, that may be seen at a considerable distance. Every evening each of these eminences is seen covered with people, who lie down upon it, and breathe its noisome vapours, smoking their pipes, and observing if all is quiet in the fields. These heaps of dung and rubbish produce many inconveniences, they obscure the houses, infect the air, and fill the eyes of the people with an acrid dust mixed with minute straws, which is one of the numerous causes of the diseases of the eyes to which the people of Egypt are so much exposed.

From Meimund we proceeded to El-Eaffer, a pretty village in an excellent country. The gum-arabic is here collected, which is procured by incision from a kind of mimosa, called the nilotica, or

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Egyptian thorn, which bears very fragrant golden buds. We here procured fine horses, and an excellent breakfast. We discovered from hence Abussir, Benniali, Dallaste, Bacher, Tabuch, Buch, Zeitun, and Eschmend-el-Arab. At El-Eaffer we met with a dozen Arabs, encamped without the village. I got a view of the chief's tent, composed of nine picquets supporting an indifferent woolen tent-cloth, under which were all the articles of his household furniture, consisting of a mat, and a carpet of the same stuff as the tent, two sacks, one of wheat for the man, and another of barley for his mare, a hand-mill to grind corn, a chicken pen, and a jar for his hens to lay in, pots, coffee-pots, and cups. The women were hideous as well as the children.

From El-Eaffer we went to Benniali: here they brought us nothing, so we sent for the Sheiks, and the next day they sent us horses, and the tribute in money. I quitted this station without regret in order to join Desaix, whom I knew, and loved, and resolved not to quit, and whose operations, therefore, would determine the course of my future travels. We left Zaoyeh, and slept that night at Chendauyeh, returning again by Meimund and Benniali. The first of our party who got to this village found its inhabitants all under arms, which caused a misunderstanding, and a mutual discharge of muskets, whereby several of the natives were killed, but at last an explanation and amicable arrangement took place. A moment

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after we heard a loud outcry, which we thought proceeded from some terrible catastrophe, but it was only occasioned by our soldiers cutting down the withered branches of a decayed tree to make a fire to boil their soup.

The belief in a supreme Being, and the principles of a reasonable morality, are sufficient for the wise man; but the passions of the ignorant vulgar require intermediate divinities, gross, to satisfy their gross imagination, and vicious, in conformity with their own vicious habits. The religion of Mahomet, therefore, which is a religion of precepts, does not satisfy the fantastic ignorance of the Arabs; and thus, in spite of their blind respect for the Koran, and their absolute devotedness to every thing which comes from their prophet, notwithstanding the anathemas pronounced against every deviation from the law, they have not been able to withdraw themselves from heresy, and to resist the attraction of idolatry. They have their peculiar saints, to whom they do not indeed assign a separate place in their paradise, where every thing is in common, but to whom they raise tombs, and whose ashes they revere; and from an unaccountable stupidity, these saints do not become an object of worship till after death, and when alive are the subject of mockery and derision. The Arabs attribute to the weak in understanding, when dead, certain powers and influences; one is the father of the light, and cures complaints in the eyes; another is the father of gene-

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ration, and presides over lying-in women, &c. &c. The greater number of these saints have passed their life in repeating constantly the word *allah*, crouched beside the corner of a wall, or in receiving, without thanks, what has been necessary to their subsistence; others employ themselves in beating their heads with a stone; others covered with garlands, in singing hymns; others, like the oriental faquirs, in remaining motionless, naked, without ever testifying the slightest emotion, and waiting for alms, for which they never ask, or thank the donor. Besides this kind of idolatry, there are others, which are akin to magic; for example, there are certain stones and trees which conceal a good or bad genius, and, thus become sacred, and cannot be removed without profanation; and to these, domestic secrets and projects of various kinds are entrusted in confidence, whilst they are worshipped with mysterious secrecy, but revered in public.

It was the danger from the axes of our soldiers, incurred by a tree of this kind, which had made the alarm at Chendauyeh: I went to see it, and was struck with its great decay; only one of its branches bore any leaves, and all the others, which were dry and broken off, were scrupulously preserved in the very spot beneath the tree whereon they had fallen. In examining this tree with attention, I found fastened to it by nails, locks of hair, teeth, small bags of leather, small standards, and near the tombs I found single stones set up, and a seat in the form

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of a saddle, under which was a large lump. The hair had been deposited there by women, in order to fix the roving affection of their husbands; the teeth belonged to adults, who consecrated them to implore the arrival of their second set, and of all miracles this is one of the commonest, since the Arabs have very fine and good teeth; the stones are votive, that the person who is going to build a house with them may always inhabit it himself; and the saddle-formed chair is the place in which a person sits when he makes a night vow, after having lit the lamp beneath.

At Chendauyeh we encamped for the night in a wood of palm trees, where, for the first time, I found green turf in Egypt. We were hardly wrapped in our cloaks, when we heard a firing, on which we started up, and passed the night in going the round of our posts, but we could discover no enemy. The next day we arrived at Benesuef.

Desaix had been charged with the pursuit of Murad-Bey, and the conquest of upper Egypt, to which the latter had retired after the battle of the pyramids. On the same day the division of Desaix had gone to take a position beyond Cairo, and he had only returned thither to concert with the commander-in-chief. He set out again, August 26th, with a flotilla to convoy his march.

Desaix, being informed that a part of the provisions and ammunition of the Mamelukes was on board some boats at Rechuesch, marched in spite

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of the inundation to carry it off, and the 21st of light infantry, after passing eight canals, and the lake Bathen, with the water up to their arm-pits, had reached the convoy at Benesch, driven off the Mamelukes who defended it, and got possession of it. Murad had fled to Faïum; Desaix had rejoined his division at Abugirgeh, and had marched to Tarut-el-Cherif, where he took a position at the entrance of the canal Jusef to secure a communication with Cairo. When arrived at Siut, where the Mamelukes had not dared to wait for him, he endeavoured to come up with them at Beneadi, to which place they had retired with their women and their baggage. At last, having collected them all at Faïum, he left Siut to go down to Tarut-el-Cherif, and there had embarked his army, had ascended with them up the canal of Jusef, in spite of the serious obstacles presented to him by the windings of the canal, the attacks of the Mamelukes, and the opposition of the inhabitants, who were astonished to find themselves compelled to assist in operations which they had at first considered as impracticable. Desaix, however, arrived at the height of Mansura, on the frontier of the desert, where at last he came up with Murad, and not being able to make good his landing in the teeth of the enemy, he tacked about to return to Minkia. The Mamelukes, encouraged by this countermarch, threaten the barks; the companies of grenadiers repulse and disperse them; the landing is effected in good order, and the troops form themselves in square

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battalions, and pursue their march towards the desert, attended by the boats, till they arrive opposite to Mensura.

Murad-Bey was now only two leagues off us, and, whilst we were harrassed by his rear-guard, he gained the heights, where he encamped with all the oriental magnificence. With our glasses we could distinguish his person, resplendent with gold and precious stones, and surrounded by all the Beys and Kiachefs under his command.

We immediately march up to him, and cannonade him with two field-pieces, the only ones which we could bring with us, upon which this brilliant cavalry, always uncertain in its operations, halts, falls back, and allows itself to be pursued as far as Elbelamon.

In our pursuit, however, we had got at a distance from our fleet of boats, and as we were in want of food, we were obliged to return to procure biscuit. The enemy thought that we fled, and returned to the attack with cries more resembling the howling of beasts than the shouts of men; our artillery again checked the main body, but some of the boldest came with their sabres close up to our infantry, and carried off two men just under our bayonets. At length night relieved us from their obstinate perseverance.

Having regained our barks, got a supply of biscuit, and taken some hours rest, we resumed our march. During this time Murad-Bey had caused a stranger to come into his camp, and to spread a

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report, that the English had destroyed all the French in Alexandria; that the inhabitants of Cairo had massacred those who had got possession of that town, and that none of their enemies remained except the handful which had fled from them the night before, and were now on the point of being exterminated. Murad then ordered a feast, in which a mock combat between the Arabs and French was acted; and those who personated the French had orders to allow themselves to be overcome: but the feast terminated with real blood-shed, as they barbarously massacred the two prisoners which they had made the two preceding days.

Desaix had learned that Murad was at Sedinan, burning with impatience to give him battle. He therefore gave orders to advance towards the Arab chief. As soon as we had quitted the enclosed and cultivated country, loud cries of fierce joy were heard; but the day being far advanced, the enemy deferred till the morrow the victory of which they were so confident. The night was passed in feasting in their camp, and in the dark their patroles came to insult our advanced posts, imitating our language. At the first dawn of day we formed in a hollow square battalion, with two platoons on our flanks. Soon after we saw Murad-Bey at the head of his formidable Mamelukes, and eight or ten thousand Arabs advancing to us, covering a league of the plain. A valley separated the two armies, which we had to cross to reach our enemies. We were hardly got to this unfavourable position, when

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the enemy surround us on all sides, and charge us with an intrepidity approaching to fury; our close files render their numbers useless; our musketry keep up a steady fire, and repel their first attack; they halt, fall back, as if retiring from the field, and suddenly fall upon one of our platoons and overwhelm it: all who are not killed immediately, throw themselves on the ground, and this movement uncovers the enemy to our grand square; then we take advantage of it, and pour in our fire, which again makes them halt and fall back. All that remain of the platoon enter the ranks, and we collect the wounded. We are again attacked in mass, not with the cries of victory, but of rage; the courage is equal on both sides; they are animated by hope, we by indignation: our musket-barrels are cut with their sabres, their horses fall against our files, which receive the shock unshaken; the horses are startled at our bayonets; and their riders turn their heads, and back them upon us to open our ranks by their kicks: our people, who knew that their safety consisted in remaining united, press on without disorder, and attack without breaking their ranks: carnage is on all sides, but each party fight without mixing with the other. At last the fruitless attempts of the Mamelukes urge them to a madness of rage, they throw at us their arms, which otherwise could not reach us; and, as if this were to be their last battle, they shower upon us their guns, pistols, hatchets, and the ground is strewed with arms of all kinds. Those who are dismount-

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ed drag themselves under our bayonets, and cut at our soldiers' legs with their sabres; the dying man summons his last effort to throttle his adversary. One of our men lying on the ground, was seizing an expiring Mameluke, and strangling him, an officer said to him, "How can you, in your condition, do such an act?" "You speak much at your ease," the man replied, "you who are unhurt; but I, who have not long to live, must have some enjoyment while I may."

The enemy had now suspended their attack; they had killed many of our men; and though they retired they had not fled; and our position was not at all amended. Directly after their retreat had left us uncovered, they opened upon us a battery of eight guns, which they had before masked, and which, at every discharge, brought down six or eight of our men. We had now a moment of consternation and dismay, and the number of our wounded every instant encreased. To sound a retreat would be to revive the courage of the enemy, and to expose ourselves to every kind of calamity; to remain where we were would be to encrease our disaster fruitlessly, and to risk the lives of us all; but in marching we must abandon our wounded, and give them up to certain destruction,...a most distressing circumstance in all wars, and especially in the savage contest in which we were now engaged. What order was to be given? Desaix, in dreadful perplexity, stood awhile motionless; but the common interest, and the voice of imperious necessity,

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drowned the cries of the wounded; the word was given and we marched on. We had no choice between complete victory or entire destruction; and this extremity was so sensibly felt by us all, that the whole army became, in courage and unanimity, as a single individual. Our light artillery, commanded by the impetuous Tournerie, perform prodigies of celerity and address; and, whilst in its hasty course it is dismounting the Mameluke cannon, our grenadiers come up, the battery is abandoned; and this army of cavalry, ten times our number, immediately stand amazed, check their course, fall back, gallop off, and disappear like a vapour, leaving us without an enemy.

Never was there a more terrible battle, a more splendid victory, and a more unexpected success. I still think of it as a frightful dream, which has only left in the mind a vague impression of terror.

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CHAPTER X.

Desaix returns to Cairo for reinforcements....Convents near Benesuef....Encroachment of the sand of the desert....Canal Jusef and other works.... Conjectures on the lake Mœris....Fertility of the province of Faium....Pyramid of Bilahun....Return of Desaix, and march....Arab thief....Benesech, and other villages....Grand portico of Hermopolis....Vermin in Egyptian houses...Town of Beneadi, and character of the inhabitants.

THE real advantage which we obtained at the battle of Sedinan, was to detach the Arabs from the Mameluke party, and we may also add, the fear with which our mode of fighting inspired these latter. Notwithstanding the disproportion of number, the unfavourable position in which we were placed, and the circumstances in their favour, which must have made them reckon on our total destruction, the result of the battle put an end to their flattering illusions. Murad-Bey now changed his plan, and giving up all hopes of breaking the ranks of our infantry, or of resisting its attacks in the open field, he took from us the opportunity of putting an end to the campaign by decisive blows, and we were reduced to pursue an active and rapid enemy, who, by his anxious and restless precautions, left us neither rest nor security. Our mode of warfare

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was now to resemble that of Antony against the Parthians: the Roman legions, invincible in the field, overthrew their enemy's battalions, and found no other obstacle than the space of country which their foes left behind them; but, exhausted with daily losses, the victors thought themselves fortunate to be able to quit the territory of a people who, always beaten but never subdued, would, even the day after a defeat, return with invincible perseverance to harrass those whom they had just left masters of an unprofitable field of battle.

The heat of the days, and the coolness of the nights in this season, had afflicted the army with much inflammation of the eyes: this disease is unavoidable when long marches and fatiguing days are followed by night-watching, in which the humidity of the air represses perspiration; vicissitudes which bring on inflammation either in the eyes or the bowels.

Desaix, to lose no time to levy the requisitions, and procure horses in the province which he had just conquered, left three hundred and fifty men at Faïum, and set out to reduce the villages which Murad-Bey had excited to revolt. During his absence in the province, a thousand Mamelukes, and a number of fellahs, or peasants, came to attack the town which contained our sick men.

General Robin, and the chief of brigade, Exuper, who, with the troops under his command, were all suffering under ophthalmia, performed prodigies of valour, and drove back from street to street, a whole host of enemies, after making a

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terrible slaughter among them. Desaix rejoined these brave men, and the whole army marched by Benesuef, to dispute with Murad-Bey the resources of this rich province.

When arrived at Benesuef, Desaix returned to Cairo, in order to procure the means of renewing the campaign: he there collected and dispatched forwards every thing which he thought necessary to secure his marches, and to force Murad to come to action. For myself, fearing the pleasures of the capital, I remained at Benesuef, though but little inviting to the artist.

On the left bank of the Nile, opposite Benesuef, the Arabian chain of mountains lowers, retires further off, and forms the valley of Araba, or the Chariots, terminated by Mount Kolsun, rendered famous by the grottos of two cœnobite patriarchs, St. Anthony and St. Paul, the founders of the monastic order, and creators of this contemplative system, which is so useless to mankind, and has been so long respected by the credulous people. On the soil which covers the two grottos, which these two hermit saints inhabited, two monasteries still exist, from one of which it is said Mount Sinai, beyond the Red Sea, may be discerned. The mouth of this valley, towards the Nile, exhibits nothing but a dreary plain, the only cultivated part of which is a narrow slip of land on the bank of the river: some vestiges of villages overwhelmed by the sand may be discovered, and they present the afflicting sight of daily devastation, produced by the continual en-

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croachment of the desert on the soil, inundated with sand.

Nothing is so melancholy to the feelings, as to march over these ruined villages, to tread under foot the roofs of the houses, and the tops of minarets; and to think that these were once cultivated fields, flourishing trees, and the habitations of man ....every thing living has disappeared, silence is within and around every wall, and the deserted villages are like the dead, whose skeletons strike with terror.

The ancient Egyptians speak of this encroachment of the sands, under the *symbol* of the mysterious entrance of Typhon into the bed of his sister-in-law Isis; an incest which is to change Egypt into a desert as frightful as those by which it is encompassed; and this great event will happen when the Nile finds a lower level, through some one of the surrounding vallies, than the bed in which it now flows, and which is constantly getting higher. This idea, which at first appears extraordinary, will be thought probable, when we consider the local situation. The elevation of the Nile, and the rise of its banks, have made of it an artificial canal, which would by this time have put Faium under water, if the Caliph Jusef had not raised new dykes upon the old ones, and dug a collateral canal below Benesuef, to restore to the river a part of the water which is every year poured by the overflowing into this vast bason. If it were not for the causeways which stop the inundation,

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the great swells would soon convert this whole province into a large lake, which actually threatened to happen twenty-five years ago by an extraordinary inundation, in which the river had risen over the banks of Hilaon, and it was much feared either that the province would remain under water, or that the stream would resume an ancient channel, which it was evident it had occupied in remote ages. To remedy this inconvenience a graduated dyke has been raised near Hilaon, where there is a sluce erected, which, as soon as the inundation has got to the proper height to water the province without drowning it, divides the mass of water, takes the quantity necessary to irrigate Faïum, and turns off the remainder by forcing it back into the river through other channels of a deeper cut. If a conjecture might be hazarded, we might say, that, before the most ancient times of which we have any knowledge, the whole Delta was only a large gulph which received the waves of the Mediterranean; that the Nile came as far as the opening of the valley which enters the province of Faïum; that by the *dry river* it went to form the Marëotis, which was one of its estuaries to the sea, as the lac Madie was that of the canopic branch, and as the lakes of Berelos and Menzaleh are still the estuaries of the Sebenitic, Mendeisian, Tanitic, and Pelusiac mouths; that the lake Bahr-Belame *(or without water)* is the remains of the ancient course of this river, wherein are found petrifactions (which incontestably prove inundations) ve-

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getations, and human labours, shewing that the soil has been raised by the course of the river, and by the perpetual fluctuation of the sands from west to east; that the Nile having, at a certain period, acquired more direction to the north than to the north-west as before, precipitated itself into the gulph which we have just supposed, there forming marshes, and at last the Delta. From this hypothesis it would follow, that the first labours of the ancient Egyptians, such as the lake Mœris (now lake Bathen) and the first dykes were only made to retain part of the waters of the inundation, in order to irrigate thereby the province of Arsinoë, which threatened to become barren; and that posteriorly, the lake Mœris, or Bathen, no longer receiving water enough, nor being able from its situation to water the province of Faïum, the river was obliged to be taken higher up, and the canal Josef was dug, which doubtless bears the name of the Caliph who ordered this noble work: but at the same time fearing that Faïum would remain permanently inundated, this prince raised, from time to time, new dykes upon the old, such as we now see, and dug the two canals of Boueke and Zaoyeh to return the superfluity of the flood back into the river.

When we enjoy quiet possession of the country we shall probably make observations on all the different levels, and on the labours of the Egyptians at different periods; we may thus ascertain facts, instead of forming conjectures, and shew

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how much the Egyptians have at all times attended to the distribution of the waters, and how, even in times of barbarism, they have preserved some of their ancient sagacity. After this, if the Nile should still continue to lean to the right, and to increase as it has already done, the branch of Damietta, at the expence of that of Rosetta; if it at last should abandon the latter, as it has successively left the channels of the *dry river* and the branch of Canopus: if it should leave the lake of Berelos and empty itself entirely into that of Menzaleh, or form new branches and new lakes at the eastern part of Pelusium; in fine, if nature, always more powerful in the end than the resistance of man, has condemned the Delta to become an arid soil, the inhabitants will follow the Nile in its course, and will always find on its banks that abundance which is produced by its beneficent waters.

Our first employment, after the departure of Desaix, was to reconnoitre the country, and make a progress through it, to levy contributions: we visited the villages which border the opening at Faïum, half a league to the west of Benesuef. We then crossed the canal; and after a march of two hours we arrived at Davalta, a fine village, or rather a beautiful country; for in Egypt, when nature is charming, it is so in spite of all that men can add to it, or of the detractors of Savary, who have quarrelled so much with his luxurious descriptions. Nature here produces spontaneously groves of palm, under which flourish the orange-tree, the

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sycamore, opuntia, banana, acacia, and pomegranate; and these trees form groups of the finest mixture of foliage and verdure; and, when these delightful thickets are surrounded, as far as the eye can reach, with fields covered with ripe dourra, with mature sugar-canes, with fields of wheat, flax, and trefoil, which spread a downy carpet over the land, as the inundation retires; when, in the months of our European winter, we have before our eyes this rich prospect of spring, which promises the abundance of summer, we may well say with this traveller, that nature has organized this country in a most astonishing manner, *and that* there only wants woody hills, with brooks flowing down their declivities, and a government which would render the people industrious, and prevent the incursion of the Bedouins, to render it the best and most beautiful country on the face of the earth.

In crossing the rich tract which I have just described, where the eye discovers twenty villages at once, we arrived at Dindyra, where we stopped for the night. The pyramid of Hilahun, situated at the entrance of Faïum, seems like a fortress raised to command this province. Can this be the pyramid of Mendes? May not the canal of Bathen, which passes by it, be the lake Mœris formed by the hand of man, as Herodotus and Diodorus conjecture? For the lake Birket-el-Kerun, which is the Mœris of Strabo and Ptolemy, can never be regarded as any thing but the work of nature. Accustomed as we are to the gigantic labours of the

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Egyptians, we can never persuade ourselves that they can have hollowed out a lake like that of Geneva. All that ancient historians and geographers tell us of the lake Mœris is doubtful and obscure; it is evidently seen that their accounts were dictated by the colleges of priests, who were always jealous of every thing that related to their country, and could the more easily have thrown a veil of mystery over this province, as it was situated beyond the common road of travellers. Hence we have had from them the story of an artificial lake three hundred feet in depth, of a pyramid raised in the middle of it, of a palace of an hundred chambers to feed crocodiles in; and, in short, of stories as fabulous as any in the history of man, and the most incredible part of the remains of Egyptian antiquity. But to reason from what actually exists, we find that there is, in truth, a canal here, that of Bathen, which was flooded when we visited it, as we approached it in different directions; that the pyramid of Hilahun may well be that of Mendes, which was built at the extremity of this canal, supposed to be the lake Mœris; that the lake Birket-el-Kerun, on the contrary, is a pool of water, which must always have existed, and whose bed must have been formed by the motion of the soil, which is carried up and renewed every year by the superfluity of the inundation of Faïum, and its waters may have become brackish at the time when the Nile ceased to flow through the valley of the dry river. The proofs of this opinion are, the

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forms of the different parts, the existence of a bed of a river extended to the sea, but now dry, its depositions and incrustations, the depth of the lake, its extent, its bearing towards the north on a chain of hills, which run east and west, and turn off towards the north-west, sloping down to follow the course of the valley of the dry channel; likewise, the natron lakes; and, more than all the other proofs, the form of the chain of mountains at the north of the pyramid which shuts the entrance of the valley, and appears to be cut perpendicularly, like almost all the mountains at the foot of which the Nile flows at the present day: all these offer to the view a channel left dry, and its several remains.

The ruins which are found near the town of Faium are doubtless those of Arsinöe. I have not seen them, nor those which are at the west side of the lake near the village of Kasr-Kerun; but the plan of them shews only a few rooms, and a portico decorated with some hieroglyphics.

The pyramid of Hilahun, the most shattered of all the pyramids which I have seen, is also that which is built with the least magnificence. It is constructed of masses of calcareous stones, serving as points of support to heaps of unbaked bricks; but perishable as this kind of building is, and perhaps more ancient than the pyramids of Memphis, it still holds together; so favourable is the climate of Egypt to these monuments which endure for

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ages here, but would fall to pieces by the rigour of a single European winter.

There are some unlucky moments, when every thing one does is followed by danger or accident. As I returned from this journey back to Benesuef, the General charged me with carrying an order to the head of the column; I gallop on to execute it, when a soldier, who was marching out of his rank, turning suddenly to the left as I was passing to the right, presents his bayonet against me, and before I could avoid it, I was unhorsed by the blow, whilst he at the same time was thrown down. "There is one savant less," said he while falling (for with them every one who was not a soldier was a *savant;)* but some piastres which I had in my pocket received the point of the bayonet, and I escaped with only a torn coat. When arrived at the head of the column, I found the aid-de-camp, Rapp; we were well mounted, and had got before the infantry; it was at the close of the evening, and, being near the tropic, we had but little twilight, as in these countries darkness immediately follows sunset. The Bedouins infested the country, and we saw some moving spots in the plain before us, which was very extensive. Rapp said to me, "We should not be here, let us either return to the column, or cross the country and get to Benesuef." I knew that my companion preferred the boldest measure, so I chose the latter, and we spurred on our horses, braving the Bedouins, who are always abroad at this time:

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our ride was long, we increased our speed, and, at last, my horse ran away with me, and it was quite dark when I arrived under the entrenchments of Benesuef. I thought that I could continue on the same road that I had passed in the morning; my horse stopped, I spurred him, and he lept over a trench which had been made that day, and put me on the other side with my face against a palisade, where I could neither advance nor retreat. At this time the centinel challenged me, I did not hear him, and he fired; I called out in French; he asked what business I had there, chid me, and turned me out; and thus the awkward *savant* was bayonetted, fired at, chid, and sent home like a truant school-boy.

On the 10th of December General Desaix returned from Cairo, bringing with him twelve hundred cavalry, six pieces of artillery, six armed djermis, and two or three hundred infantry; which made the strength of his division amount to three thousand infantry, twelve hundred cavalry, and eight pieces of light artillery. He was thus provided with every necessary to pursue, attack, and overcome Murad-Bey, if he would let us come up with him; and we were all full of hope and courage. I was, perhaps, the only one in this army who had neither glory nor advancement to acquire; but I could not help priding myself on my activity; and my self-love was flattered with marching in an army brilliant with victory, with having resumed my post at the advanced guard, and with having been

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the first to quit Toulon. I therefore marched cheerfully, with the pleasing hope of arriving the first at Syene, and of realizing all my projects, and seeing the object of my journey fulfilled. In fact, the most interesting part of my travels was now beginning; I was going to break up, as it were, a new country; to be the first to see, and to see without prejudice; to make researches in a part of the earth hitherto covered with the veil of mystery, and for two thousand years shut out from the curiosity of Europeans. From the time of Herodotus to the present, every traveller, following the steps of his predecessor, had only rapidly ascended the Nile, not daring to lose sight of his boat, and only quitting the shore for a few hours to hurry a few hundred yards off, and visit with anxiety the nearest objects. For every thing beyond the vicinity of the river, the oriental histories alone have been consulted. Encouraged by the reception which I met with from the commander-in-chief, and seconded by all the officers, who partook of my zeal for the arts, I had no other fear than that of wanting time, paper, pencil, and ability, to take down all the objects of curiosity which I met with: I was now accustomed to night encampments, and could subsist very well on ammunition biscuit; I feared nothing from Murad-Bey than to see him enter the desert, and to lead us from Benesuef to Faïum, and back from Faïum to Benesuef.

We quitted this latter town, December 17th; the spectacle was very fine; and I regretted being

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too busy myself not to be able to make a sketch of it; our column extended a league in length, and every thing breathed joy and hope. At the fall of day we were saddened by the view of an uncultivated land, and a deserted village....how many melancholy ideas are included in the silence of night, the neglect of culture, and the ruins of the habitations of man! tyranny begins this disastrous waste, despair and crime finish it. Thus it happens in Egypt: when the master of a village has exacted from it all that it can afford, and the misery of the inhabitants is further reduced to extremity by fresh demands, the villagers in *despair oppose* force to force; they are then treated as open rebels, and each party has recourse to arms; and if the inhabitants in defending themselves have the misfortune to kill any one of their tyrants or his satellites, they have no other resource than flight to save their lives, and theft to support it; men, women, and children, blotted out from society, and roving from place to place, become the terror of their neighbours, only appear furtively in their own native habitations, which they convert into dens of robbers, alarming those who would succeed them in their retreats of misery. Thus whole villages, when become the asylum of crime, offer no other view to the passenger than deserted fields, ruins, silence, and desolation.

We arrived at El-Berankah an hour before night, and quitted it at day-break the next morning; we breakfasted at Bebeh, a considerable village, which

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has nothing remarkable, except that it possesses the wrist of St. George, a relic which should recommend it to every pious son of chivalry. The Arabian chain of hills here approaches the river so close as to leave only a narrow strip of green land between the two.

At Miriel Guidi we were delayed by several accidents which happened to the carriages of our field-pieces in getting them over the canals: we learnt that the Mamelukes were at Fechneh. Whilst we were waiting under the shade, a criminal came before General Desaix. Those that brought him said, "He is a thief, he has stolen some guns from the volunteers, and has been taken in the act." How much we were surprized to see the robber a boy of twelve years old, beautiful as an angel, with a large sabre wound in his arm, which he looked at without emotion. He presented himself to the General, whom he perceived to be his judge, with an air of firmness and simplicity, and (so great is the charm of native grace) not a person present could preserve his anger. He was asked who bid him steal these guns? "Nobody." What had induced him to do it? "I do not know; it was the great God." Had he parents? "Only a mother, very poor and blind." The General told him, if he confessed who sent him, he should be released; if not, he should be punished as he deserved. "I have already told you, nobody sent me; it was God alone that put it into my head;" then laying his cap at the feet of the General, he said, "There is

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my head, you may cut it off!" Fatal religion, in which vicious principles and positive laws urge man to heroism and to wickedness!...." Poor little wretch," said the General, " let him go." He saw that his sentence was passed; he looked at the General, then at the soldier who was leading him off, and, guessing the meaning of what he could not understand, he parted with a smile of confidence. Such anecdotes as these give a better insight into the morals of nations, and the influence of religion and laws, than regular discussions.

A strange event succeeded to this interesting scene....it was *rain*. It gave us for a moment a sensation which recalled Europe to our minds, and the first soft showers of spring in the midst of December. Some minutes after we were told, that the Mamelukes were waiting for us about two leagues off, with an army of peasants. Every one was immediately on the alert, expecting battle in the evening, or the next day at latest. On approaching Fechneh we discovered a detachment of Mamelukes, who let us approach within half cannon shot, and then disappeared. We were told that the main body was at Saste Elsayeneh, a league further off; but our artillery was not come up, as it was constantly delayed by the canals, and in spite of the wish of the General to join the enemy, and attack him even before we were completely formed in order of battle, we could not get to Saste till night; and we found that the Mamelukes had quitted it two hours before. At Saste

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we learnt that they had got intelligence of our march at mid-day, at the time when the inhabitants were disputing with them concerning the extraordinary impositions which they demanded; they immediately thought of nothing but loading their camels, calling us the *scourge of God* sent to punish their faults, and in truth they might have used less pious expressions.

They kindled fires, which soon went out. We left this place the 19th of December at day-break: they had preceded us two hours, and were three leagues before us. They quitted the Nile in the direction of their march, passing between Bar-Jusef and the desert, abandoning the richest country in the universe. In this third passage I did not find the straight canal, as it is marked in all the charts; but it is only an actual survey of the levels that can give a knowledge of the system and regulation of the irrigations, and of the works to be respectively attributed to art and to nature in this interesting part of Egypt. Towards the evening we forded the canal Jusef, which at this place appears to be only the receptacle of the flood waters, because it is the lowest part of the valley, and in no part to be the work of human industry. But all these questions will be determined by a grand operation to be performed in time of peace, from which the best way may be suggested of recovering the advantages of this mysterious canal, now lost or sunk into neglect. This important work would have fallen to the lot of General Caffarelli,

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who was always so ardent to contribute to the public welfare, if death had not deprived the commander-in-chief of his services as a friend, and all Egypt of a benefactor.

From a simple inspection of these different levels I should be disposed to believe, that this part of Egypt has become lower than the elevated banks of the Nile, and that after the general inundation, the drainings of the water all collect in this spot. I have since seen in upper Egypt the effect of the filtration which here occurs; the waters having in this country neither canals nor valleys through which they can be carried off after the inundation; the entire mass penetrates the whole depth of the vegetable soil, at the bottom of which it meets with a bed of clay, which it cannot pass, and it returns to the river by small streamlets, when the fall of the flood has sunk it below the surface of this bed of clay. May not the *oasis* be ascribed to a similar operation of nature?

We here saw some bustards: they were smaller than those of Europe, as is the case with every animal common to the two continents. We were now approaching the desert, which was also advancing to us, for, as the ancient Egyptians express it, the desert is the tyrant Typhon, who is constantly invading Egypt. The mountains were still two leagues off us, and we were at the edge of the plain which forms a border between the deserts and the cultivated country. Whilst we were halting, we received intelligence that the Mamelukes were en-

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gaged with our advanced guard; but news is fabricated by the advanced guard of an army for the main body, as well as by one quarter of Paris for the other; however, as even reports of this kind are not to be neglected, we hastened up, but found no enemy, and we halted for the night near the village of Benachie, in a fine wood of palm-trees.

On the 20th at day-break, we continued our route, in the constant hope of reaching the enemy: we learnt that he had marched all night: the artillery delayed our progress, and constantly required some little stop; whilst the Mamelukes, unincumbered by heavy guns, had the desert before them, in the midst of which they could defy our eagerness. We attempted, however, to enter it, and presently our draught horses were knocked up: however, we arrived by this route at Benesech, where, fortunately for me, the army halted.

Benesech was built on the ruins of the ancient Oxyrinchus, the capital of the thirty-third *nome*, or province of Egypt. Nothing, however, remains of this city but some fragments of stone pillars, marble columns in the mosques, and a single column left standing, along with its capital, and part of the entablature, which shews that it is the fragment of a portico of the composite order. It was not without some danger that I arrived here alone, half an hour before the division; but it would have been attended with still greater risk to have remained behind; I therefore had only time to take a general view on horseback of this desolate country, and to

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sketch the single standing column, the only remains of its former magnificence. This solitary monument brings a melancholy sensation to the mind; Oxyrinchus, once a metropolis surrounded by a fertile plain, two leagues off the Lybian range of hills, has disappeared beneath the sand; and the new town has been obliged to retreat from this desolating invasion, leaving to its ravages house after house, and the inhabitants must at last be driven beyond the canal Jusef, on the border of which they will still be menaced. This fine canal seemed to offer to our sight its verdant banks, in order to console us for the prospect of the desert which presents such a gloomy idea to all who have once beheld it; a boundless horizon of barrenness, which oppresses the mind by immensity of distance, and whose appearance, where level, is only a dreary waste; and where broken by hills, only shows another feature of decay and decrepitude, whilst the silence of inanimate nature reigns throughout undisturbed.

Tired with drawing, I remained absorbed in the melancholy inspired by the scene before my eyes, when I saw Desaix in the same attitude with myself, penetrated with the same sensations. "My friend," said he, "is not this an error of nature? Nothing here receives life; every thing appears to be placed here to inspire with melancholy or dread; it would seem as if Providence, after having provided abundantly for the necessities of the three other parts of the world, suddenly stopped here for

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want of materials, and abandoned it to its original barrenness." "Is it not rather," I replied, "the decrepitude of the most anciently inhabited part of the globe? Has not the abuse which men have made of the gifts of nature reduced it to this state?" In this desert there are vallies and petrified wood; there have therefore been rivers and forests; these last have been destroyed, and after this have disappeared the dew, the mist, the rain, the rivers, and with them all the animated beings.

We found in the mosques of Benesech, a number of columns of different marbles, which are doubtless the spoils of the ancient Oxyrinchus, but which were not of the style of ancient Egypt.

We returned, following the course of the canal, which in this part resembles our river La Marne. Some time after we saw a considerable explosion, but heard no noise following it; we thought it was a signal; but the day but one after, we learnt that a part of the powder of the Mamelukes had taken fire. We also seized a convoy of eight hundred sheep, which, I believe, without much difficulty, we persuaded ourselves belonged to the enemy, and in the evening it consoled our troops for the fatigues of the day. We arrived at Elsack too late to save this village from being pillaged; in a quarter of an hour there remained nothing at all in the houses, literally nothing; the Arab inhabitants had fled into the fields; we invited them back, they answered coldly: "Why should we return to our houses, are not the deserts now as good as our own

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homes." We had nothing to reply to this laconic answer.

Nothing interesting happened on the next day. We found the lake Bathen as serpentine as the lake Jusef; but we must wait for an actual survey of these canals, to be able to form any rational conjecture on the ancient system of irrigation, till which time all our reasonings would be precipitate, and our assertions illusory. We slept at Tata, a large village inhabited by Copts; and an Arab chief who had joined Murad-Bey, had left at our disposal a large house and mattresses, on which we passed a delicious night, for we could very rarely be lodged so commodiously.

The next day, December 22d, we crossed fields of peas and beans already in pod, and barley in flower. At noon we arrived at Mynyeh, a large and handsome town, in which there had formerly been a temple of Anubis. I found no ruins but fine columns of granite in the large mosque, which were well cut, and had a very fine astragal: I know not whether they were part of the temple of Anubis, but they were certainly of a date posterior to that of the temples of high antiquity in Egypt, which I afterwards saw in my travels.

The Mamelukes had quitted the town of Mynyeh, and had nearly been surprized by our cavalry, who entered it some hours after. They had been obliged to abandon five vessels armed with ten pieces of cannon, and a mortar; they had besides buried

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two others, which were shewn us by several Greek deserters who came to join us.

Mynyeh was the handsomest town we had yet seen; it had good streets, substantial houses very well situated, and the Nile flowing through a large and cheerful channel.

From Mynyeh to Come-el-Casar, where we slept, the country is more rich and abundant than any that we had hitherto travelled over, and the villages so numerous and contiguous to each other, that from the middle of the plain I reckoned twenty-four around me: they were not rendered gloomy by heaps of ruins, but planted with trees so thickly interwoven, that it put me in mind of the descriptions which travellers have given us of the islands in the Pacific Ocean.

The next morning, at eleven, we were between Antinöe and Hermopolis. I had not much curiosity to visit the former of these places; as I had already seen the monuments of the age of Adrian, and the buildings of this Emperor in Egypt could not present to me any thing very knew and striking; but I was eager to go to Hermopolis, where I knew there was a celebrated portico; it was, therefore, with great satisfaction that I heard Desaix inform me, that he should take three hundred cavalry, and make an excursion to Achmusain, whilst the infantry were marching to Melaiei.

In approaching the eminence on which is built the portico of Hermopolis, I saw its outline in the horizon, and its gigantic features. We crossed

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the canal of Abu-Assi, and soon after, passing across mountains and ruins, we reached this beautiful monument, a relic of the highest antiquity.

I was enchanted with delight at thus seeing the first fruit of my labours; for, excepting the pyramids, this was the first monument which gave me an idea of the ancient Egyptian architecture; the first stones that I had seen which had preserved their original destination, without being altered or deformed by the works of modern times, and had remained untouched for four thousand years, to give me an idea of the immense range and high perfection to which the arts had arrived in this country. A peasant who should be drawn out from his cottage, and placed before such a building as this, would believe that there must exist a wide difference between himself and the beings who were able to construct it; and without having any idea of architecture, he would say, this is the work of a god, a man could not dare to inhabit it. Is it the Egyptians who have invented and brought to perfection such a beautiful art? This is a question which I am unable to answer; but even on a first glimpse of this edifice we may pronounce, that the Greeks have never devised nor executed any thing in a grander style. The only idea which disturbed my enjoyment here was, that I must so soon quit this magnificent object, and that it required the hand of a master, and ample leisure, to do it justice with the pencil; whereas, my powers were humble, and my time measured out. But I could not quit it with-

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out attempting the sketch which I have given to my readers, which can but faintly express the sensations which this noble fabric conveys, and which I sincerely hope some future artist will be enabled to finish under more fortunate circumstances.

If a drawing can sometimes give an air of greatness to little things, it always diminishes the effect of great objects: so in this instance, the capitals, which appear too heavy in proportion to the bases, have, in reality, something in their massiveness which strikes with wonder, and disarms criticism: here one cannot venture either to admit or reject any rules of criticism: but what is truly admirable, is, the beauty of the principal outlines, the perfection in the general construction, and in the use of ornaments, which are sufficient to give a rich effect without injuring the noble simplicity of the whole. The immense number of hieroglyphics which cover every part of this edifice, not only have no relief, but entrench upon no part of the outline, so that they disappear at twenty paces distance, and leave the building all its uniformity.

Among the hillocks, within three or four hundred yards of the portico, enormous blocks of stone may be seen half buried in sand, and regular architecture beneath them, which appear to form an edifice containing columns of granite, just rising above the present level of the soil. Further on, but still connected with the scattered fragments of the great temple of Hermopolis, which I have just described, is built a mosque, in which are a num-

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ber of columns of cipoline marble of middling size, and retouched by the Arabs; then comes the large village of Achmunin, peopled by about five thousand inhabitants, to whom we were as great an object of curiosity as their temple had been to us.

We slept at Melaui, half a league from the road from Achmunin. But here I think I hear the reader say to me, "What! do you quit Hermopolis already, after having fatigued me with long descriptions of monuments of little note; and now you pass rapidly over what might interest me? Where is the hurry? Are you not with a well-informed General, who loves the arts, and have you not three hundred men with you?" All this is very true, but such are the necessary events of this journey, and such the lot of the traveller; the General, whose intentions are very good, but whose curiosity is soon satisfied, says to the artist, "I have three hundred men here who have been ten hours on horseback; they must find shelter for the night, and make their soup before they go to rest." The artist feels the force of this, as he is himself, perhaps, very weary and hungry, and must share with the rest in the fatigues of night encampments, and especially as he is every day twelve or sixteen hours on horseback, as the desert has tired his eyelids, and his eyes, burning and smarting, only see dimly through a veil of blood.

Melaui is larger and still more beautiful than Mynyeh; its streets are straight, and its bazar very well built; there is here a very large house belong-

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ing to the Mamelukes, which it would be easy to fortify.

We entered it late, I had lost time in going up and down the town, and seeking out for quarters: I was lodged without the walls, and before a handsome house which appeared very commodious; the owner was sitting at his ease before his door, and seeing one lying down on the outside, he beckoned me into a chamber, where I found General Beliard, who had already taken advantage of his hospitality. I was hardly asleep when I was awakened by an intolerable restlessness, which I took to be the beginning of an inflammatory fever; but after remaining a long time in this state of agitation, I found my companion as ill off as myself, and we both started up and left the room; and, looking at each other by moonlight, our whole skin was red, inflamed, and our features hardly distinguishable; and on further examination we found ourselves covered with vermin of every kind.

These mansions in upper Egypt are nothing but vast pigeon-houses, in which the owner reserves to himself only a room or two for his own use, and there he lodges along with poultry of all kinds, and all the vermin that they engender between them, which it is a part of his daily employment to hunt for, but at night the toughness of his skin defies their bites; and thus our host, who intended to do us a civility, could not conceive the reason of our quitting him so abruptly. We got rid as well as we could of the most troublesome of these

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intruders, vowing faithfully never again to accept of such hospitality.

On the next day, December 24th, we continued our pursuit of the Mamelukes; they always kept about four leagues off us, and we could never gain ground upon them. In their march they ravaged as much as they could the country which they kept between us. Towards the evening we saw a deputation with a flag of alliance coming up to our camp. It was a party of Christians, from whom the Mamelukes had demanded a requisition of an hundred camels, and these poor wretches not having it in their power to comply with the demand, the enemy had barbarously killed sixty of their people. They in return, highly exasperated, had slain eight of the Mamelukes, whose heads they offered to bring us. They all spoke at once, repeating perpetually the same expressions; but fortunately for our ears, the audience was given in a field of lucerne, which offered a seasonable refreshment to the deputation, who began to devour the crop greedily, as if it were a dainty which they were afraid of losing. Whilst sitting on horseback, I sketched the figure of one of the deputies just as he had finished his harrangue. (See Plate X. Fig. 6.)

We slept at Elgansanier, where we were very well lodged in a santon's tomb.

The next day, December 25th, we were marching over Mount Falut, when we learned that the Mamelukes were at Beneadi, to which place we

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A Mameluke compleatly armed.

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immediately directed our course, in hopes of coming up with them. Partaking of the eagerness of all around me, I was full of joy when we received any tidings of the Mamelukes, without reflecting that I had no reason for animosity or revenge against them, and that as they had not injured the remains of antiquity, which was my harvest, I had no cause of complaint against them. If they had acquired unfairly the soil which we were treading, at least it was not for us to make any objections; their rights were at least sanctioned by several centuries of possession; but the preparations for a battle present so much bustle and activity, and altogether form such a striking scene, and the event is of so much importance to all who are concerned in it, that the mind has but little room left for moral reflections; success is then the only object, for the game has so high a stake that one does not choose to lose it.

But when arrived at Beneadi our hope was once more deceived; we only found some Arabs, whom our cavalry chased into the desert. Beneadi is a rich village, about half a league in length, advantageously situated for the trade of Darfur, which is carried on by caravans, possessing an abundant territory, and a population numerous enough to compel the Mamelukes to enter into some composition for their levies, and not to allow them to take it as plunder. We also found it prudent to temporize with them for the present, especially as the amicable advances which they

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insolence of which we thought it proper to pass over by the appearance of cordiality. Surrounded by Arabs whom they do not in the least fear, as they supply these freebooters with their articles of the first necessity, and consequently can dispose of their services; the inhabitants of Beneadi enjoy an influence in the province which would render them an object of embarrassment to any government whatever; they came out to meet us, and they reconducted us out of their territory, without either party being at all tempted to pass the night in the same place. We slept at Benisanet.

On the 26th, just before getting to Siut, we found a large bridge, a lock, and flood-gates in order to retain the waters of the Nile after the inundation; these Arabian works, made, doubtless, from ancient models, are as useful as well contrived; and, in general, it appeared to me, that the distribution of the waters in upper Egypt for irrigation, was ordered with more intelligence, and effected with simpler means, than in the lower provinces.

END OF VOLUME I.

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